THE METHOD OF HOLDING THE THREE ONES

The frontispiece shows an adept who has visualized The Three Ones in such a way that they have left their residences in his body and can be clearly seen in front of him. This accomplished he may now proceed to present his wishes to them. (Taken from *Shàng-qīng Jīn-què-dì-jūn wǔ-dǒu sān-yī tú-jué*, p. 12a-b. See fig. 1, p. 26).

STUDIES ON ASIAN TOPICS NO. 1

THE METHOD OF HOLDING THE THREE ONES

A Taoist Manual of Meditation of the Fourth Century A.D.

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS vi

INTRODUCTION 1

The origin of the Máo-shān sect 1

The place of *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng* in the Shàng-qīng canon 3

Jīn-què-dì-jūn 11

The meditational tradition of Jīn-què-dì-jūn 15

The content of *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng* 23

NOTES 29

TRANSLATION 39

NOTES 49

BIBLIOGRAPHY 64

CHINESE TEXT at end

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I. INTRODUCTION

The text with which we are concerned here, *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng* (金闕帝君三元真一經), The Scripture of The Three Primordial, Perfected, Ones, by The Imperial Lord of The Golden Portal, is a quite short, but nonetheless important Taoist text, originating from the famous Máo-shān sect. I shall therefore begin by giving a résumé of the origin of this sect.[1]

THE ORIGIN OF THE MAO-SHAN SECT

The starting point was a series of revelations received by a young man by the name of Yáng Xī (楊羲) during the years 364-70. In his nightly visions he was visited by several Perfected or immortals, *zhēn* (真)[2], who descended from their abode in the Shàng-qīng (上清) heaven in order to transmit their teaching and dictate their texts to him.

These included scriptures, *jīng* (經), biographies of the Perfected, *zhuàn* (傳), and supplementary instructions, *jué* (訣), and they were directed not only to Yáng Xī himself, but also to two members of the Xǔ (許) family: Xǔ Mì (謐) who was an official at court, and his youngest son Xǔ Huì (翽). Together the two Xǔ established a retreat on Máo-shān (茅山), a mountain twenty miles south of Nánjīng, at the place which later became the religious centre of the sect.

Officially the sect was named the Shàng-qīng sect, after its special heaven. The special gods of the sect resided in this

heaven, and to the believers this was the ultimate goal of their endeavours: to be raised up to Shàng-qīng as immortals.

That these texts came to form the basis of a religious institution of considerable dimensions and of steadily increasing influence was to a large extent due to Táo Hóng-jǐng (陶弘景), 456-536. He was the actual organizer of the sect, but above all he was the one who untiringly collected together all that could be obtained whatsoever of the original manuscripts in the handwriting of Yáng Xī, Xǔ Mì and Xǔ Huì, as well as a good deal of copied material. In 492 he retired to Máo-shān in order to edit and annotate these texts and practice their teaching.[3]

He compiled *Zhēn-gào* (真誥), "Declarations of the Perfected", which is a collection of minor revelations: poems, explanations of the scriptures, responses to questions, etc. It also contains Táo's detailed account of the vicissitudes of the manuscripts through more than a century up to his own recovery of the remaining pieces.[4]

Another great publication by Táo Hóng-jǐng was *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué* (登真隱訣), "Secret Instructions for Ascent to Perfection". The title indicates that the text was not intended for general circulation, and this is confirmed by a closer investigation of the contents. The book consists of excerpts from the various Máo-shān texts, supplemented with detailed explanations and practical directions, in addition to text-critical commentaries: the whole publication seems to be meant as a guide for the practicing Taoist. It has only survived in a short fragment of three chapters in the present *Dào-zàng*, plus a few quotations preserved in *Tài-píng-yù-lǎn* (太平御覽).

Both of these publications fall in the last decade of the fifth century, and they constitute our main source for the re-

construction of the whole body of revealed texts, collectively named *Shàng-qīng-jīng* (上清經). This reconstruction is laborious because the texts are scattered throughout the *Dào-zàng*. The problem of authenticity imposes itself, and to solve it one must rely on the commentaries of Táo Hóng-jǐng on the one hand, and on the body of already verified works on the other.

THE PLACE OF JIN-QUE-DI-JUN SAN-YUAN-ZHEN-YI JING IN THE SHANG-QING CANON

Táo Hóng-jǐng gives the following information on the extent of the corpus of texts available to him:[5] "Of all the manuscripts in the handwriting of these three gentlemen [Yáng and the two Xǔ] extant at the present time, there are over ten individual scriptures and biographies of greater or lesser length, mainly transcripts made by the younger Hsu, and more than forty scrollfulls of oral instructions dictated by the Perfected, the large part of which are in Yang's hand."

The bibliography of the Shàng-qīng canon which Táo prepared[6] is now lost. It is cited in a colophon to one of the biographies, *Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn* (紫陽真人內傳), (*Dào-zàng*, vol. 152); here it is stated that according to the list of Zhēn-bó (眞白), i.e. Táo, the biography should comprise 3,488 characters, but that it now has 3,489 characters. Evidently this bibliography contained quite precise data.

The earliest surviving list of the Shàng-qīng canon dates no further back than to the Táng dynasty, i.e. several centuries after Táo Hóng-jǐng's time. This list is found in *Dòng-xuán líng-bǎo sān-dòng fèng-dào kē-jiè yīng-shì* (洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始)[7] which according to Chén

Guŏ-fú is not later than the first half of the eighth century.[8]

There is no direct mention in this list of *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng*; one of the titles is however related to traditions transmitted by Jīn-què-dì-jūn.[9]

As has been mentioned above the Shàng-qīng revelation also includes a number of biographies; in the list these are simply referred to collectively as "seven biographies of eight Perfected in seven chapters". The best known of these biographies is that of Zhōu Yì-shān (周義山) (a man, presumably legendary, of the Later Hàn dynasty who was elevated to Shàng-qīng as Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén (紫陽眞人)). According to *Zhēn-gào* the book was transmitted in two versions, one revealed to Yáng Xī and one revealed to his contemporary Huá Qiáo (華僑), another medium of the Máo-shān sect. The version in the *Dào-zàng* with the title, *Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn*,[10] seems to be that of Huá Qiáo.[11] In a postface it is stated that Zhōu wrote the biography himself and thereafter gave it to Huá.

This biography has attracted a great deal of attention, primarily because of the fact that it is dated: the colophon of the present edition states that it is based on a manuscript written in 399. A number of texts mentioned in the biography can therefore be dated to before that year.[12]

It is here that we find the earliest mention of *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng*. This is the first text which Zhōu receives from his master Sū Lín (蘇林);[13] it represents the essence of Sū's teaching, which he himself has received from Juān-zǐ (涓子). The biography refers time and again to our text, sometimes under the designation *shǒu-sān-yī zhī fǎ* (守三一之法), 'the Method of Holding The Three Ones'.[14]

During his meeting with Zhōu, Sū relates the following:[15]

"I received the essence of Juān-zǐ's secret teachings, the method of becoming skilled in Holding The Three Ones and controlling demons and spirits. I received the true seal of The Imperial Lord of the Tài-jí [heaven] (太極帝君真印) so as to have power over famous mountains and achieve immortality. It is also the first part of The Writings of Perfection of The Imperial Lord of The Golden Portal (金闕帝君真書之首), the great instruction of the multitudinous wonders. But what I have studied is but little, only enough to become a terrestrial immortal (地仙人). Your name is entered in the golden registers of the palace of Fāng-zhū[16] ... My principles and techniques are only fit to teach to terrestrial immortals (陸仙), who practice liberation from the corpse.[17] It is not something which you, as one of the Perfected, should study. I am merely an Intermediate Immortal (中仙), and not worthy to be your teacher.

But though refinement of the spirit through Holding The Ones (守一鍊神) is not the method of the Superior Perfected (上眞), still it is a good thing for the Intermediate Perfected, the terrestrial immortals (中眞地仙). Through this method one can obtain audience with the gods of the thousand mountains and attract the spirits (精) of the waters; one can spit out the old [breath] under The Seven Flowers [i.e. The Big Dipper] and draw in the new above the three palaces."[18]

This passage is followed by one which appears to be a paraphrase of a part of the initial section of *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī-jīng* (see Translation p. 39):

"[Through this method one is enabled to] pay homage to The Infant, to The Perfected and to The Child.[19] These three Perfected are the Imperial Lords who dwell in the body. They mingle the twenty-four breaths; these enter into Tài-wēi, where they divide again and are called The Twenty-four Perfected. If you are able to master this method within a space of three inches,[20] then the Perfected of the three palaces [i.e. The Three Ones] can be seen. If they can be seen, then a cloud chariot with a feather canopy, [accompanied by] a thousand chariots and ten thousand horsemen, can be seen and can be

mounted. Your name will be recorded in the nine registers, and you will fly up to Shàng-qīng.

The Upper Primordial [i.e. The Upper One] on the day *lì-chūn*[21] returns from The Eastern Dipper.[22] The Middle Primordial [i.e. The Middle One] on the day *lì-xia*[23] returns from The Southern Dipper. The Lower Primordial [i.e. The Lower One] on the day *lì-dōng*[24] returns from The Northern Dipper.

When The Three Breaths [i.e. The Three Ones] ascend, they are also retained (存) in the body. The four intersecting points of the sun [i.e. the above-mentioned 'beginnings', plus *lì-qiū* (立秋), 'beginning of autumn', equivalent to the eighth or ninth of August] are the moments for the coming and going of The Ones.

This method is rare, but its application is comprehensive. These matters are near at hand, but they give eternal life. If you obtain this method, then you can also transform your body into all things, you can go through water and fire, you can tie up tigers and leopards, and you can control demons and spirits.

You should also know this method of making gradual progress. I hereby give you The Method of Holding The Three Ones, the secret and wondrous writings of [the heaven of] Xiǎo-yǒu (小有), in two hundred items."

These were some of the words of Sū Lín. The method and the text he has received from Juān-zǐ, about whom it is said later in *Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn*:[25]

"Juān-zǐ seems to be from the state of Qí. When young he was fond of eating mountain thistle (朮), whose essence he collected and ate.[26]

His meditation affected heaven. Later when he was fishing in the Gē lake,[27] he met The Little Youth of The Eastern Sea,[28] who said to him: 'When you catch a carp, you shall cut it open.' Later he did in fact catch a carp, and he cut it open. The stomach of the fish contained The Method of Holding The Three Primordial, Perfected, Ones, By The Imperial Lord of The Golden Portal (金闕帝君守三元眞一之法). Thereupon he retired to the Tuó (蒙) mountain. He could produce wind and rain."

At this point the contact with *Liè-xiān-zhuàn* comes to an end. It is evident that this, somewhat older, text (of which the oldest parts date as far back as to the Later Hàn dynasty), or perhaps another manifestation of the same legend, has been used as the basis of Juān-zǐ's biography in *Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn*. In this latter text then a number of typical Máo-shān elements have been added, such as for example the meditation that affected heaven, The Little Youth of The Eastern Sea and of course *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng*. In *Liè-xiān-zhuàn* too Juān-zǐ catches a carp, but what he finds in its stomach is described simply as a talisman, fú (符).

In continuation of this common legend *Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn* goes on with its own description of Jūan-zǐ:

> "He studied The Way and Stayed in the world for two thousand seven hundred years. One morning he announced: 'I have been summoned by [the heaven of] Tài-wéi to hold the appointment of Duke of Immortals (仙公)'. Thereupon he went away, and nobody knows where he ended. He said to Zǐ-xuán (子玄 = Sū Lín)[29]: 'The Three Ones in The Dipper should be worshipped on the days of intersection.[30] When you have done so for twenty years, then The Three Ones can be seen. When they can be seen, then you can live for ever and become an immortal (仙). When you have The Three Ones in their residences [i.e. in their proper places in the body], then you will live for ever and be imperishable. ... That The Imperial Lord of The Golden Portal mounted the clouds and the swift dragons and went throughout the nine heavens was achieved through the matters of The Three Primordial, Perfected, Ones of Dòng-fāng (洞房)'."[31]

From the preceding it may be held to be established that *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng* forms a part of the Shàng-qīng material, and that it goes back to before the year 399. We have seen that the book is considered to be a part of the

teaching transmitted by Sū Lín. In one of his minor revelations[32] Yáng Xī receives information about Juān-zǐ's method of 'Holding The Interior Ones of The Five Dippers' (守五斗内一). Here again the method is described as leading only to the status of Terrestrial Perfected (地真人), and in a commentary by Táo Hóng-jǐng it is said that these Perfected Ones of The Five Dippers (五斗真一) are those referred to in the meditational practice of Sū's biography, *Sū-zhuàn* (蘇傳).

The biography of Sū Lín has been transmitted only in an abridged form in *Yún-jī-qī-qiān* (雲笈七籤), the great Sòng compendium.[33] This version gives a short narrative of Sū's role in the transmission of the methods of Holding The Ones, very similar to the description found in *Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn* and quoted above, but it contains no detailed descriptions of meditational techniques. Some of the missing material is found in *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué*. The whole of chapter one of this book seems to derive from the biography of Sū. This appears not only from the heading of the chapter, *Xuán-zhōu-shàng-qīng Sū-jūn zhuàn-jué* (玄洲上卿蘇君傳訣), but also from several places in Táo Hóng-jǐng's commentary. Táo attributes the biography to Zhōu Yì-shān, Sū's disciple.[34]

The chapter deals with a set of practices supplementary or preliminary to the basic method of Holding The Three Ones. It begins by describing the two sets of talismans which form a part of the central corpus of texts related to this meditation.[35] Hereafter follows a survey of the nine palaces of the head.[36] The chapter further contains descriptions of the meditational techniques used in connection with the entrance buildings, Shǒu-cùn (守寸), and the palaces leading from the entrance and up to the central Ní-wán palace, in which resides The Upper

One.[37] Thus the palace of Dòng-fáng, which lies in front of the Ní-wán palace, is dicussed in the last passage of the chapter. This passage is a quotation from our own *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuan-zhēn-yī jīng*.[38] It briefly states the necessity of practicing meditation on the deities of Dòng-fáng alongside with the meditation on The Three Ones.[39]

The frame of reference of this chapter of *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué* quite clearly is the method of Holding The Three Ones. This becomes obvious from the commentary of Táo Hóng-jǐng, in which all the different techniques of meditation are discussed in their relation to the method of Holding The Ones. In one of the commentaries it is stated that "*Dān-tián-jīng* is exactly this way of Holding The Three Primordial, Perfected, Ones".[40] The following commentary[41] discusses the two basic canons of meditation practiced and transmitted by Sū Lín: the method of Holding The Three Ones and the method of the Xuán-dān (玄丹) palace.[42] We are told that the method of the Xuán-dān palace represents a higher level of initiation, so that an adept practicing this method should first practice Holding The Ones, whereas an adept practicing the method of Holding The Ones does not necessarily know anything about the method of the Xuán-dān palace. We are further told that for this reason Zhōu Yì-shān extracted the description of the method of the Xuán-dān palace from Sū Lín's biography and wrote it down to be transmitted separately. It is stated that this was done because the method does not have to be transmitted together with the method of Holding The Three Ones.

We are thus lead to suspect that the description of the basic method of Holding The Three Ones, i.e. the scripture which is the proper concern of this study, *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-*

yuán-zhēn-yī jīng, originally formed a part of the biography of Sū Lín. This suspicion is strongly supported by the fact mentioned above that our text is indeed represented by a rather long quotation in the chapter of *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué* which we have here discussed. That Tāo Hóng-jǐng has included a part of the biography of Sū Lín in *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué* seems moreover to indicate that this biography does in fact form a part of the original *Shàng-qīng-jīng*, i.e. of Yáng Xī's revelations. From a short explanatory revelation, *Zhōu-jūn kǒu-jué* (周君口訣)[43] received by Yáng Xī and addressed to Xǔ Mì, we know for sure that the founders of the sect were familiar with a biography of Sū Lín, and that it was attributed to Zhōu Yì-shān.

We may thus conclude that *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng*, which forms a part of Sū's biography, was revealed to Yáng Xī (probably by the author, the immortal Zhōu Yì-shān) in the years between 364 and 370 A.D.

The book has however been transmitted in two rather different variants. One of them is found in *Dào-zàng*, vol. 120, and the other has been included in *Yún-jí-qī-qiān*.[44] There is a somewhat longer edition of the last variant in the anthology *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-lǐng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* (洞真太上素靈洞元大有妙經).[45] A detailed account of this anthology can be found below.[46] Here I shall limit myself to pointing out that its compilation can be dated to the sixth century A.D., and that the variant occurring here is probably the basis of the *Yún-jí-qī-qiān* variant.

As for the evaluation of these two basic variants Maspero makes the following comment (concerning the *Yún-jí-qī-qiān* variant): "édition meilleure que celle du Dào-zàng, actuel, mais abrégée en certains passages".[47]

It is however hard to follow him in this evaluation. In most sections the *Yún-jí-qī-qiān* variant is anything but abridged compared to the *Dào-zàng* variant. Especially as far as the initial pages are concerned it contains several passages not included in the *Dào-zàng* variant, and it is in fact two whole pages longer than the latter. In many details where the two variants differ the *Yún-jí-qī-qiān* variant is the more readable. So far then it is better. One does however often get the impression that in the *Yún-jí-qī-qiān* variant it is a question of later emendations and insertions.

Most important is however the fact that the passage quoted in *Děng-zhēn-yǐn-jué* (see above) in this exact form is found only in the *Dào-zàng* variant.

It is thus rather safe to assume that, compared with the *Yún-jí-qī-qiān* variant, the *Dào-zàng* variant is closer to the original, and accordingly the following translation has been based on this variant. In a few emendations I have however followed the *Yún-jí-qī-qiān* variant, which does after all represent a tradition in no circumstances more distant than a few centuries from the original text.

JIN-QUE-DI-JUN

It is generally considered that the Máo-shān sect - compared for example with the sect of The Celestial Masters - represents a transition from a more external, collective form of religious practice to a form with a greater emphasis on meditation.

The basic scriptures of the Shàng-qīng canon, for example *Dà-dòng-zhēn-jīng*[48] and *Huáng-tíng-jīng*[49] are mainly concerned

with meditational practices. One of the underlying conceptions of this meditation is the idea of a correspondence between macrocosm and microcosm, i.e. the belief that the gods exist simultaneously in the universe and in the microcosm of the human body. According to Taoist physiology the body is governed by a great number of inner gods, who reside in the various parts of the body.[50]

Human life depends on the presence of these gods in the body, and the purpose of meditation is to ensure and strengthen this presence. A general term for this kind of meditation is *shǒu* (守), 'to keep, to maintain, to hold fast'. The purpose is achieved through visualization, whereby the gods are fixated in the mind, *cún* (存), so as to become clearly visible. In this way long life or even immortality is attained.

One part of the Shàng-qīng canon is especially related to Jīn-què-dì-jūn (金闕帝君) and to the meditation on The Three Ones. An account of the transmission of the texts of this corpus was given above in the translations from the biography of Zhōu Yì-shān. To all appearance all of this story pertains to legend. It was only through the revelation to the medium Yáng Xī of the biographies of the legendary immortals Sū Lín and Zhōu Yì-shān that the tradition originating from Jīn-què-dì-jūn actually came into this world.

It is important to notice however that traditions of meditation on The Three Ones existed already before the time of Yáng Xī. *Bào-pú-zǐ nèi-piān* (抱朴子内篇) (of about 320 A.D.), chapter 18, gives a summary of traditions closely related to those described in *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng*. It is stated that the universal oneness conceived as having names and appearances becomes the trinity of gods residing in

the human body, and that this latter aspect is what is emphasized by the Taoists, who through generations, orally and guarded with secrecy, transmit the names of The Ones.[51]

Apparently *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng* is a result of a rewriting of material already in circulation in the South of China.

A word must be said on the identity of Jīn-què-dì-jūn. We shall first consider an important text by Tāo Hóng-jǐng: *Dòng-xuán líng-bǎo zhēn-líng wèi-yè-tú* (洞玄靈寶真靈位業圖),[52] which is an attempt at a classification of the whole body of gods and immortals. These are divided into seven groups, corresponding to seven heavens, of which the second from the top is the Shàng-qīng heaven with its Perfected. In this work we find Jīn-què-dì-jūn placed *both* in a position in the Shàng-qīng heaven *and* as the central deity of the third group, corresponding to the heaven of Tài-jí (太極), which is sometimes identified as the north star.[53]

It seems probable that the title of Tài-jí-dì-jūn (太極帝君), sometimes met in the texts of the tradition, is in fact referring to Jīn-què-dì-jūn.[54] As the ruler of the northern sky we find him in the introduction to the Song edition of *Dà-dòng-zhēn-jīng*, i.e. the edition of the present *Dào-zàng*.[55]

In a preparatory meditation described in this introduction the breath of each of the five directions is instilled into the body of the adept, where in each case it is transformed into a number of deities. The directions are addressed in incantations called *sù-yǔ* (素語), a term which might tentatively be translated as 'words of primordial non-differentiation',[56] and the incantation directed towards the north is associated with Jīn-què-dì-jūn.[57]

In the title of this incantation as well as in many other places where Jīn-què-dì-jūn is mentioned he carries the title Hòu-shèng (後聖), The Sage Who is to Come. As shown by Michel Strickmann (I), the teachings of the Máo-shān sect included as an important part an eschatological prophecy, according to which the end of the world was near, at first predicted for the year 492; after a series of trials all evil would be exterminated, and The Sage Who is to Come would descend, gather the elect about him, and establish the reign of Great Peace, *tài-píng* (太平) on earth.

This aspect of Jīn-què-dì-jūn is emphasized in his biography, entitled *Shàng-qīng Hòu-shèng-dào-jūn liè-jì* (上清後聖道君列紀).[58] He is here described as a mortal by the name Lǐ Hóng (李弘),[59] whose progress in the study of The Way induces the Celestial Emperor, Tiān-dì (天帝) to send down his teaching in the form of *Dà-dòng-zhēn-jīng*. Later Zǐ-wéi shàng-zhēn tiān-dì (紫微上真天帝) sends down a chariot to carry Lǐ Hóng to heaven in order to invest him as Shàng-qīng Jīn-què Hòu-shèng (上清金闕後聖), The Sage Who is to Come of The Golden Portal of Shàng-qīng.

It is explained in this biography that Jīn-què-dì-jūn has three domains: he presides above in Shàng-qīng, he travels in the middle to Tài-jí, where he gathers around him the many immortals, and he governs below the ten heavens, *shí-tiān* (十天), i.e. the world of the mortals. He is described as a supreme administrator of human destinies, who assigns offices in heaven and in the future reign of *tài-píng* to each of those who practice The Way, in accordance with the merit of each, *suí-cái* (隨才).

In Jīn-què-dì-jūn we may see the combination of a supreme

ruler in heaven (residing in The Golden Portal of Shàng-qīng) and a saviour of mankind, i.e. of those human beings who through their own efforts have reached the sphere of immortality and who have therefore deserved salvation. A fundamental expression of salvation is the transmission of texts. We are told that Jīn-què-dì-jūn transmits the different parts of the Shàng-qīng tradition, the practice of which gives access to different ranks in the celestial administration, to each according to merit.[60] There is thus an unmistakable parallellism between salvation, administered by the god, and initiation, administered by the earthly leaders of the sect. In fact we find it mentioned explicitly that initiation (i.e. transmission of texts) can for some parts of the tradition only take place when sanctioned in a revelation by Tài-jí-dì-jūn.[61]

THE MEDITATIONAL TRADITION OF JIN-QUE-DI-JUN

In the biography discussed above the tradition of Jīn-què dì-jūn is collectively referred to as The Writings of Perfection of The Golden Portal, *Jīn-què zhī zhēn-shū* (金闕之真書).[62] The first part of this tradition[63] consists of the methods of meditation on The Three Ones. *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng* is the basic scripture of this first part of the tradition. Another important text is *Shàng-qīng Jīn-què-dì-jūn wǔ-dǒu-sān-yī tú-jué* (上清金闕帝君五斗三一圖訣).[64] In a postscript to this text[65] it is said that this part of the tradition transmitted by Jín-què-dì-jūn consists of four texts; in addition to the above-mentioned two scriptures these include the following talismans: *Tài-jí-dì-jūn zhēn-fú* (太極帝君真符), The True Talismans of

Tài-jí-dì-jūn, and *Tài-jí-dì-jūn bǎo-zhāng* (太極帝君寶章), The Precious Seal of Tài-jí-dì-jūn.[66]

It was shown above that the first chapter of *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué* is concerned with the tradition of meditation on The Three Ones, and that it gives an exposition of practices supplementary to the basic methods of Holding The Ones. We also find included in this chapter a detailed description of the above-mentioned talismans.[67]

The True Talismans of Tài-jí-dì-jūn are a set of sixteen talismans, to be written on white paper and eaten on sixteen consecutive days, beginning from each of the eight major festival days,[68] with the effect that The Three Ones of the body are called upon by The Most High, Tài-shàng (太上), to protect the body of the adept. The talismans may also be placed in an embroidered bag and suspended from the head of the adept, with the effect that after five years The Three Ones can be seen. The Precious Seal of Tài-jí-dì-jūn is used in a similar way and with similar results. In addition to this it may also be inscribed on a plate of gold or silver, thereby conferring upon the adept the power to command over the evil spirits of the mountains and rivers and over the true spirits (眞精) of the five sacred mountains.

Much further information on the tradition of Jīn-què-dì-jūn is found in this first chapter of *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué*. We are told that the methods of Holding The Three Ones originally derive from *Tài-shàng-sù-líng-jīng* (太上素靈經), one of the basic scriptures. In a commentary Táo Hóng-jǐng says about *Tài-shàng-sù-líng-jīng*: "This true scripture has not yet been circulated into this world. It is the root of [the methods of] Holding The Ones."[69]

In several of the commentaries by Tāo Hóng-jǐng it is indicated that the methods of Holding The Three Ones constitute one of the first steps on the ladder of initiation of the adepts of the Máo-shān sect. This further appears from the references to the tradition of Jīn-què-dì-jūn, contained in *Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn* and translated above.[70]

The part of the meditational tradition to be studied after the methods of Holding The Three Ones also derives from *Tài-shàng-sù-líng-jīng*, and it is also related to Jīn-què-dì-jūn and to Sū Lín. It is constituted by the techniques of meditation used in connection with the Xuán-dān (玄丹) palace, i.e. the palace placed in the head directly above the central Ní-wán palace.

It is stated in the main text of *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué*[71] that the description of these techniques, *Xuán-dān-jīng* (玄丹經), should be transmitted only when it has been sanctioned in a revelation by Tài-jí-dì-jūn.[72] In the commentary of Tāo Hóng-jǐng we are told that it was through the practice of these techniques that Sū Lín finally attained the rank of a Perfected Minister, *zhēn-qīng* (真卿). We are further told that *Xuán-dān-jīng* originally was transmitted to Zhōu Yì-shān, the disciple of Sū Lín and author of his biography, in the same volume as the description of the methods of Holding The Three Ones, but that he extracted *Xuán-dān-jīng* from the biography and wrote it down to be transmitted separately. It is explained that the reason for doing so was that the methods of the Xuán-dān palace represent a higher level of initiation than the methods of Holding The Three Ones. The two traditions do not o-

riginally belong together and should not necessarily be transmitted at the same time. Whereas the adepts of the Xuán-dān palace, *Xuán-dān-jiā* (玄丹家), may practice the methods of Holding The Three Ones as preparation for the practice of the methods of the Xuán-dān palace, the adepts of the methods of Holding The Ones, *shǒu-yī zhī jiā* (守一之家), do not necessarily have any knowledge of the methods of the Xuán-dān palace.

A description of a method related to the Xuán-dān palace is found in the present *Dào-zàng*. It has been included as the last part of a text entitled *Shàng-qīng sù-líng shàng-piān* (上清素靈上扁).[73] This text should not be confused with the basic scirpture, *Tài-shàng-sù-líng-jīng*, from which all the methods transmitted by Jīn-què-dì-jūn are said to derive. The text transmitted in *Dào-zàng* as *Shàng-qīng sù-líng shàng-piān* presents itself as being the first part of *Tài-shàng-sù-líng-jīng* and identical with the *Xuán-dān-jīng* discussed above. It gives an impressive line of transmission from Tài-shàng-dào-jūn (太上道君)[74] through different celestial emperors to each of the following three gods: Xī-wáng-mǔ (西王母), The Queen Mother of the West, Nán-jí shàng-yuán-jūn (南極上元君) and Jīn-què-dì-jūn.[75] In fact it is only a slight rearrangement of the material from Sū Lín's biography found in the first chapter of *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué* (and of which only a minor part is related to the Xuán-dān palace), the most important addition being the description of the method of the Xuán-dān palace, entitled *Shǒu-xuán-dān Tài-yī-zhēn-jūn zhī dào* (守玄丹太一真君之道).[76]

The compilation of the text seems definitely to be later than *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué* (last decade of the fifth century A.D.).

Since the text as a whole has been included in *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* (see below) it may be dated to the sixth century A.D.

It was explained by Táo Hóng-jǐng in *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué*[77] that the basic scripture *Tài-shàng-sù-líng-jīng* has not been circulated into this world, but that parts of it have been transmitted by Jīn-què-dì-jūn. It is therefore not to be expected that we whould find *Tài-shàng-sù-líng-jīng* as such. The closest we get is the anthology entitled *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* (洞真太上素靈洞元大有妙經), which is a collection of *Tài-shàng-sù-líng* material comprising nine texts.[78]

Among the texts included in *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* is one entitled *Tài-shàng-dào-jūn shǒu-yuán-dān shàng-jīng* (太上道君守元丹上經).[79] It is identical with the *Shàng-qīng sù-líng shàng-piān*, which was discussed above, and which is no earlier than the sixth century A.D. On the other hand we find a quotation from *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* in *Wú-shàng-bì-yào* (無上祕要), which has been dated to the end of the sixth century A.D.[80] The passage in question describes the nine palaces of the head, and it derives from the first chapter of *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué*,[81] which is included in the above-mentioned *Shàng-qīng sù-líng shàng-piān* and therefore also in *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng*. In *Wú-shàng-bì-yào* the passage is given in an abridged form, which nevertheless includes some additions to the *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué* version of the passage, which are found in *Shàng-qīng sù-líng shàng-piān* and in *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng*.[82] It is said to be quoted from *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dà-*

yǒu-miào-jīng (洞真太上素靈大有妙經).

Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng may thus be dated to the sixth century A.D.

We find in this collection a rich material for the study of the *Tài-shàng-sù-líng* subtradition of Máo-shān meditation. In addition to the scriptures describing meditational techniques[83] the collection includes registers of gods, hymns, talismans, and not the least important: the code governing the transmission of the texts of the tradition.[84] I shall here limit myself to a few comments on the meaning of the term *sù-líng* (素靈).

The first text of the collection is entitled *Sān-dòng hǔn-huà nèi-zhēn biàn-shēng guān-hào bǎo-míng* (三洞混化內真變生官號寶名).[85] It contains a register of the names with short descriptions of the appearances of the deities residing in three departments of a celestial Sù-líng palace, Sù-líng gōng (素靈宮). The following text, *Tài-shàng-dào-jūn shǒu-sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng* (太上道君守三元真一經)[86] describes a meditational technique related to this palace. It seems however that the use of the term *sù-líng* in the title of texts is earlier than its use as the name of a celestial palace. The sixth text of the collection is entitled *Tài-shàng sān-jiǔ sù-yǔ nèi-zhòu jué-wén* (太上三九素語內咒訣文). In this text we find the terms *sù-yǔ* (素語) and *sù-zhòu* (素咒) used to designate the incantations directed towards the five directions in connection with the practice of instilling the breath of the directions into the body of the adept.[87]

The terms seem to imply the paradoxical notion of wordings that are characterized by the blankness and non-differen-

tiation, *sù* (素), which is typical of the primordial state of creativity of the world.

The commentary by Liáng-qiū-zǐ (梁丘子) (first half of the eighth century A.D.) to *Huáng-tíng-jīng* includes a quotation from a text entitled *Shàng-qīng sù-wén líng-shū* (上清素文靈書), 'The Blank Writ and the Magically Efficacious Writings of Shàng-qīng'.[88] It seems quite probable that the phrase *sù-líng* in *Tài-shàng-sù-líng-jīng* is a short form of *sù-wén líng-shū* (or of a similar phrase). This supposition is supported by the fact that in *Jīn-què-dí-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng Tài-shàng-sù-líng-jīng* is regularly referred to as *Tài-shàng-sù-líng*,[89] i.e. without the last character, *jīng* (經), which means scripture, and the omission of which seems to indicate that its meaning is already imbedded in the rest of the title.

The tradition of Jīn-què-dì-jūn was summed up once more in chapters 49 and 50 of *Yún-jí-qī-qiān* (雲笈七籤), the great Sòng compendium, under the heading *sān-yī* (三一), The Three Ones. These chapters contain a selection of the texts found in *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng*, as well as the greater part of *Shàng-qīng Jīn-què-dí-jūn wǔ-dǒu-sān-yī tú-jué*,[90] which in *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-su-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* in a very fragmentary form was incorporated into the version of *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng*.[91]

In addition to these texts we also find included, in the first half of chapter 49 of *Yún-jí-qī-qiān*, some later material on The Three Ones, notably a text entitled *Xuán-mén-dà-lùn-sān-yī-jué* (玄門大論三一訣), which may be dated to the beginning of the seventh century A.D.[92] This later material is of a rather abstract metaphysical character. It derives from

the *chóng-xuán* (重玄) school of commentators of *Dào-dé-jīng* (道德經), a school which flourished during the Tāng dynasty, and which was heavily influenced by Buddhism.[93]

From the systematizations of these commentators it appears that the term *sān-yī* (三一), The Three Ones, basically refers to the fundamental trinity of the universe, the first division of the primordial unity, The Way. It further appears that the term is also applied to the manifestations of this fundamental trinity on subsequent levels of existence. Thus the term may for example also refer to the three vital forces of the human body: *shén*, *jīng* and *qì* (神精氣), spirit, essence and breath, which from within constitute the world of the individual and thus are the symmetrical counterparts of the primordial creative breaths of the universe.[94] The use of the term to designate the three supreme gods of the human body thus becomes "only a particular application of the general theory of The Three Ones".[95]

It should however be kept in mind that the term *sān-yī* originally was used to designate deities,[96] and that in the earliest texts of the Máo-shān tradition the term is still exclusively used as the name of a trinity of gods.[97] The Three Ones of our text are the supreme gods residing in the three governing centres of the human body. They represent so to speak the spiritual life force of the individual. At the same time they are the corresponding three celestial deities, residing in the heaven of Tài-wéi. They are interchangeably named The Three Primordial, *sān-yuán* (三元).[98]

THE CONTENT OF JIN-QUE-DI-JUN SAN-YUAN-ZHEN-YI JING

The core of our text is the method of Holding The Three Ones, *shǒu-sān-yī zhī fǎ* (守三一之法), or rather one of these methods, the term being used in the texts of this tradition to designate several different techniques of meditation on The Three Ones. The special method of our text is described in the last pages of the text (from p. 6a, l.10); it has the following characteristics:

One fixates (存) the seven stars of The Big Dipper and brings it down to a position directly above the head. The Three Ones emerge from the bowl of The Dipper, each accompanied by a minister. Three times one breathes in very deeply, and each time one of The Three ones, accompanied by his minister, follows with the breath and enters into his proper place in one of the three cinnabar-fields of the body. After this has been accomplished one meditates (精念) to ascertain that The Ones are at rest in their respective palaces.

This section of the text is preceded by one which contains the detailed descriptions of the appearances of The Three Ones residing in their palaces in the body (p. 4b-6a, l.9). This section seems to have the vital function of guiding the vision as one meditates on the gods. It also gives the names of the gods as well as an enumeration of the parts of the body which each protects from evil influences.

These two sections, i.e. the second half of the text, may be said to supply the necessary tools for practicing the method of our text. The first half of the text is more loosely structured. Its most important function seems to be to give a basic exposition of the theoretical system underlying the method.

The cosmic origin of The Three Ones is described in the following way (p. 3a, l.1-3): "As for the separation and transformation of The Three Primordial, they were born out of Unity. Therefore the multitude of the Perfected return to Unity, and in this way their mysterious work is accomplished. This [i.e. Unity] is the ancestor of The True Way, the source of The Primordial Breath." Another passage (p. 4a, l.4-5) deals with the complementary origin of The Three Ones in the human body.

We are confronted here with a theme which is common to a great many Taoist techniques: under varying forms, they aim at re-creation through a return to the beginning. The Three Ones as gods are created out of the basic one-ness of the universe, The Way. One of the fundamental symbols of this return and of this primordial creativity is the child. The fact that our text relates of The Three Ones that "they look like newborn infants" (e.g. p. 5a, l.1) by no means indicates that they are weak, but on the contrary that they possess the fullness and life force of the beginning.

As mentioned, The Three Ones have a double existence: in the human body and in Tài-wěi. Several times it is indicated that the fundamental purpose of the practice of our method is to achieve a union of these parallel planes of existence. This union is effected through the intermediary of the twenty-four breaths. These represent a further division of the breath of The Three Ones, corresponding to the twenty-four sections of the body. Transformed into spirits they are called The Twenty-four Perfected, and they have the same double existence: in the human body and in Tài-wěi. When The Twenty-four Perfected of the body ascend to Tài-wěi, "then The Twenty-four Perfected of Tài-wěi, and the gods of the body, will feast together in

Hǔn-huáng. Their combined radiance diffuses and soars up; they bring the inner and outer powers in harmony" (p. 1b, l.7-9).

It seems that in this way, through the union of heaven and earth, the life force of The Three Ones is renewed. It should be noticed that the basic practice of our text is performed at certain dates, i.e. 'the four beginnings', being the first day of each of the four seasons. As mentioned in *Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn* these "are the moments for the coming and going of The Ones".[99]

In the same text it is further stated that on three of these days The Three Ones "return" from respectively The Eastern, The Southern and The Northern (i.e. The Big) Dipper.[100] The basic act of the method of our text is the reinstatement of The Three Ones into their proper places in the body.

It is characteristic that The Three Ones "emerge and are transformed" out of the bowl of The Big Dipper. This constellation is important in a great number of Taoist practices, it is the centre of the celestial administration of human destinies, and it functions as a sort of life-giving centre of the universe.[101] In most practices in connection with The Three Ones the manipulation of The Big Dipper plays a part. See for example fig. 1, which is taken from *Shàng-qīng Jīn-què-dì-jūn wǔ-dǒu-sān-yī tú-jué*. It shows The Big Dipper brought down to a position above the head of the adept, as described in our text, p. 6b, l.1-5. The difference is that it illustrates the use of the life force of The Big Dipper for a protective purpose. It is stated that "in this way the hundred corrupt influences do not dare to act, the noxious breath vanishes of itself".[102]

In this same text the importance of the dates (in this context comprising both the above-mentioned 'four beginnings', and

Fig. 1. This illustration is taken from *Shàng-qīng Jīn-què-dì-jūn wǔ-dǒu-sān-yī tú-jué*, *Dào-zàng*, vol. 534, p. 16b. Thus in precisely this form it is no older than the printing of the present *Dào-zàng* (second half of the fifteenth century), but it was undoubtedly drawn on the basis of an earlier picture.

the equinoxes and the solstices) is explained in the following way: "These are the days when the ten thousand Perfected, the sacred immortals and the gods feast together."[103] It should be noted that in some traditions these eight days are also considered to be the days when the eight messengers of The Great One, *Tài-yī bā-shǐ-zhě* (太一八使者), who reside in the human body, report in heaven on the behaviour of each individual, in order that the destiny of each may be readjusted according to the character of this behaviour.[104]

In addition to this method of renewal our text also gives directions on a more general kind of Holding The Three Ones. It is said that one should at all times constantly concentrate on seeing The Three Ones (e.g. p. 3b, l.3-6), and it is understood that once they become clearly visible in a permanent way, immortality has been achieved.

It is a common theme of many Taoist techniques of meditation that they aim at the preservation inside the body of the vital forces or substances, and that this preservation is achieved through concentration. It is assumed to be a natural tendency in all objects that the constituent forces are directed outward and thus in time are exhausted and become less cohesive. The vital forces are slipping away, and death will be the natural result. To avoid this calamity one must reverse the natural process, turn inward, and concentrate the vital forces through meditation.

The meditation on The Three Ones should be viewed on this background. The purpose is to keep The Three Ones in the body through concentration and visualization. They are fixated in the mind, and thus their presence is ensured. The importance of this presence can be gathered from the alternative, which is

described in the following terms (p. 4a, 1.2-3): "If you have concentration, but without endurance, or if it endures but is not essential, then The Three Ones will depart. Your body will be an empty house without a master. In this disastrous condition, how could you endure for long?"

NOTES

1. K.M. Schipper's *L'empereur Wou des Han dans la légende taoiste* (Paris 1965) contains important contributions to the history of the Máo-shān sect. I have further relied on two articles by Michel Strickmann: "Taoism in the lettered society of the Six Dynasties" and "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching", both presented at the Second International Conference of Taoist Studies, Tateshina, Japan, 1972. The first of these articles has been published recently in *T'oung Pao*, vol. 63, livr. 1, p. 1-64 (Leiden 1977) under the title "The Mao Shan revelations. Taoism and the Aristocracy". A survey of the textual history of the sect is contained in Chén Guó-fú: *Dào-zàng yuán-liú kǎo* (陳國符: 道藏源流考), (Peking 1963).

2. The nominal short form of *zhēn-rén* (真人), a term already encountered in *Zhuāng-zǐ*, there with the meaning: the perfect, true man. As with so many Taoist terms it is retained by later Taoism, while gradually changing its content. Within religious Taoism a *zhēn-rén* comes to mean an immortal; usually it indicates a higher class of immortals than the term *xiān-rén* (仙人). As early as in *Shuō-wén jiě-zì*, *zhēn-rén* is defined as *xiān-rén*. As an adjective *zhēn* comes to denote a property of the divine reality, its quality of transcendent, true reality. A *zhēn-rén* is thus a man who has made himself a part of this reality, who has transformed his original, earthly substance into immortal (*zhēn*) substance. See e.g. the following translation from a commentary on *Tài-shàng sān-tiān zhèng-fǎ jīng* (*Dào-zàng*, vol. 876), Maspero, p. 388: "Si ses os et son souffle deviennent Réels [*zhēn*], alors (l'homme) devient quelqu'un qui ne meurt pas..." Within the Máo-shān sect the short form is used in particular of the group of especially exalted immortals, residing in the Shàng-qīng heaven. It has become a rather well-established convention to translate *zhēn* by 'Perfected' and 'Parfait' in English and French re-

spectively, and I have chosen to follow this convention.

3. *Dào-zàng*, vol. 151 contains a detailed biography, which is based on two contemporary sources. Its title is *Húa-yáng Táo Yĭn-jū nèi-zhuàn* (華陽陶隱居內傳). Furthermore we find biographies included in the two official histories: *Liáng-shū* (梁書) and *Nán-shĭ* (南史). For a treatment of this material see Strickmann II. Most of the relevant texts can be found in *Dōkyō Kenkyū* (道教研究), vol. 4 (1971), p. 29-113, compiled and collated by Ishii Masako (石井昌子).

4. This part of *Zhēn-gào* has been translated in Strickmann I, p. 41-62.

5. *Zhēn-gào*, j. 19, p. 9b-10a. Tr. Strickmann I, p. 41.

6. Mentioned by Tāo himself in *Zhēn-gào*, j. 20, p. 2a, l.8-9.

7. *Dào-zàng*, vol. 761, j. 5, p. 1a-2b, with the title: *Shàng-qīng dà-dòng-zhēn-jīng mù* (上清大洞真經目).

8. Chén Guó-fú, p. 6. Chén Guó-fú's argument is strengthened by the existence of a Dūn-huáng manuscript copy of the text, MSS. Pelliot no. 2337; see Obuchi Ninji (大淵忍爾): *Tonkō Dōkyō mokuroku* (敦煌道經目錄), (Kyoto 1960), p. 116.

9. I.e. no. 10, *Jīn-què shàng-jì líng-shū zĭ-wén* (金闕上記靈書紫文). Cf. *Huáng-tiān Shàng-qīng Jīn-què-dì-jun líng-shū zĭ-wén shàng-jīng* (皇天上清金闕帝君靈書紫文上經), *Dào-zàng*, vol. 342.

10. *Dào-zàng*, vol. 152.

11. See Chén Guó-fú, p. 8.

12. See Maspero, "Introduction bibliographique", p. 345-52.

13. On the revealed biography of this immortal, see below, p. 8-10.

14. This is the general term for the type of meditational technique described in our text, i.e. the meditation on The Three Ones, *sān-yī* (三一). The Three Ones are the three supreme gods of the human body. See below p.22-28.

15. P. 5b-6b.

16. The paradisaic island Fāng-zhū (方諸) in The Eastern

Sea. See Translation, Note 5.

17. *Shī-jiě* (尸解) is the apparent death through which the adept casts off his earthly remains and ascends to heaven in a spiritual body, a body which he has devoted his entire life to creating within himself. One striking image of *shī-jiě* is the butterfly leaving its cocoon. Yet *shī-jiě* is described as the lowest form of transformation to the state of immortality. This is probably related to the fact that one here actually must undergo a death, in contrast to the form which we most often meet in the legends, where the adept, while still alive, directly ascends to heaven.

18. 'Spit out the old and draw in the new', *tǔ-gù nà-xīn* (吐故納新) are well-known technical terms from Taoist respiratory techniques. See Maspero, p. 375. The three palaces are the three governing centres of the body. See Translation, Note 18.

19. Chì-zǐ (赤子), Zhēn-rén (真人) and Yīng-ér (嬰兒). These are The Three Ones, who reside each in one of the three palaces or cinnabar-fields, *dān-tián* (丹田).

20. *Sān-cùn zhī jiān* (三寸之間). As described in Translation, Note 18, each of the cinnabar-fields is composed of nine palaces, each measuring one inch in length, breadth and height. As far as the upper cinnabar-field is concerned these palaces are arranged in two layers with five below and four above. The three anterior palaces below constitute, together with adjoining pavilions, a special unit: The Yellow Court, Huáng-tíng (黃庭). The special function of this section is to give room for audiences; since it is in fact three inches long it may be the place in question here. Cf. *Huáng-tíng wài-jǐng yù-jīng zhù* (黃庭外景玉經註), *Dào-zàng*, vol. 131, j. 58, p. 1b, l.4-5.

21. 立春, 'beginning of spring', equivalent to the fourth or fifth of February.

22. The constellation Dōng-dǒu (東斗). The firmament is divided in five directions, each of which is governed by one of the five constellations, *wǔ-dǒu* (五斗), The Five Dippers. Most important of these is The Northern Dipper, Běi-

dǒu (北斗), The Big Dipper, whose appearance has given rise to the name. (See also Translation, Note 84). A *dǒu* is moreover a commonly used grain measure, often translated by 'peck'. Even as such it plays a part within religious Taoism, the sect of The Celestial Masters, *tiān-shī-dào* (天師道), in its early stage at the end of the Hàn dynasty being nicknamed *wǔ-dǒu mǐ dào* (五斗米道), 'the way of five-pecks-of-rice', ostensibly because this was the amount of rice demanded from each of the members of the sect as contribution to the common reserves. This usage is mentioned in *Sān-guó-zhì* in the biography of Zhāng Lǔ (張魯), j. 8, p. 263. It is shown by Hou Ching-Lang, from texts belonging to the period of the first Celestial Masters, that the practice of contribution of rice is also related to the belief in celestial treasuries. These treasuries seem in some traditions to be situated in The Five Dippers, where they play a part in the original allocation of life to the individual. The purpose of the contribution of rice is thus to create and augment in the celestial treasuries a fund of destiny, which corresponds to the length of life and the salvation of each individual. See Hou, p. 101.

23. 立夏, 'beginning of summer', equivalent to the sixth or seventh of May.
24. 立冬, 'beginning of winter', equivalent to the seventh or eighth of November.
25. P. 13a-b.
26. This passage should be compared with Juān-zǐ's biography in *Liè-xiān-zhuàn* (列仙傳), translated by Kaltenmark with very copious notes (Kaltenmark I, p. 68-71). The first two sentences of the biography are practically identical with those translated here above.
27. Here the text has 河澤. Following Kaltenmark, and in accordance with some versions of *Liè-xiān-zhuàn*, I have translated it as 滑澤.
28. Dōng-hǎi-xiǎo-tóng (東海小童). Identical with The Green Youth, who lives in the palace of Fāng-zhū. See Translation, Note 5.
29. Here follows a short resumé of the special method contained

in *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng*. Compare Translation, p. 46-47.

30. Jié-rì (節日). This is a common term meaning 'day of festival'. But here it seems to refer more particularly to the days of the coming and going of The Three Ones, described earlier in the text as the four intersecting points of the sun. See above p.6.
31. Dòng-fāng is the second of the nine palaces of the head, counting from the entrance. See Translation, Note 18.
32. *Zhēn-gào*, j. 10, p. 6a-b.
33. *Dào-zàng*, vol. 677-702, j. 104, p. 1a-4b.
34. See p. 4b, l.9.
35. P. 1a-3a. See below, p. 16.
36. P. 3a-6a. See Translation, Note 18.
37. P. 6a-11b. This arrangement of the sections of the main text is due to Táo Hóng-jǐng. See the commentary, p. 6a, 1.5-6.
38. *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng*, p. 1b, 1.10 - 2a, 1.5 is identical with *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué*, j. 1, p. 10b, 1.8 - 11a, 1.7.
39. The reason why the Dòng-fāng palace is discussed so briefly is indicated by Táo Hóng-jǐng in a commentary, p. 4b, 1.1-2, where he says that although the meditational practices of this palace have already been circulated into this world, he has not yet seen the scriptures.
40. P. 4b, 1.2: 丹田經即此守三元真一之道也, implying that this method of meditation is in fact what the present text is about.
41. P. 4b. 1.8-5a, 1.1.
42. Cf. the biography, *Yún-jī-qī-qiān*, j. 104, p. 2b-3b. The Xuán-dān palace is placed in the head directly above the central Ní-wán palace. The two traditions are discussed in greater detail below, p. 15-22.
43. *Zhēn-gào*, j. 10, p. 3b, 1.6 - 4a, 1.2.
44. J. 50, p. 10b-18a.
45. *Dào-zàng*, vol. 1026, p. 27a-41a. It is here entitled *Tài-shàng dà-dòng shǒu-yī-nèi-jīng fǎ* (太上大洞守一內經法).
46. See p. 19-20.
47. Maspero, p. 350, Note 5.

48. *Shàng-qīng dà-dòng-zhēn-jīng*, *Dào-zàng*, vol. 16-17.
49. *Huáng-tíng nèi-jǐng yù-jīng zhù* (黃庭內景玉經註) and *Huáng-tíng wài-jǐng yù-jīng zhù* (黃庭外景玉經註), *Dào-zàng*, vol. 130-131.
50. On the system of palaces in the body, see Translation, Note 18.
51. *Bào-pú-zǐ nèi-piān*, j. 18, p. 1a.
52. *Dào-zàng*, vol. 73.
53. See for example *Yún-jí-qī-qiān*, j. 49, p. 16b, l.8-9: 太極北極星也
54. *Dòng-xuán líng-bǎo zhēn-líng wèi-yè-tú*, p. 8a, has Tài-jí Jīn-què-dì-jūn (太極金闕帝君), and there is no one else in this work to claim the title of Tài-jí-dì-jūn
55. *Dào-zàng*, vol. 16-17.
56. See also below, p. 20.
57. *Shàng-qīng dà-dòng-zhēn-jīng*, *Dào-zàng*, vol. 16, j. 1, p. 11a-16a. The same five *sù-yǔ* are included in *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* (see below, p. 20) and are therefore at least as early as the sixth century A.D.
58. *Dào-zàng*, vol. 198.
59. The same name is used in the above-mentioned register of gods, *Dòng-xuán líng-bǎo zhēn-líng wèi-yè-tú*, p. 8a. Through this name the saviour of the Máo-shān sect is linked with the Messiah of the popular movements of rebellion. This latter has been described by Anna K. Seidel in "The Image of the Perfect Ruler in Early Taoist Messianism" (*History of Religions*, vol. 9 (1969-70), p. 216-47). It should be noted however that the Millenium of the Máo-shān sect was to be instituted by divine mercy rather than through active rebellion. As shown by Strickmann the social basis of the Máo-shān sect was the old South Chinese aristocratic families who had lost most of their political influence to the many emigrés from the North after the fall of the Western Jìn dynasty. Although the basic motivation of this social group may well have been the urge to assert itself against the powerful emigrés, it nevertheless belonged to the upper classes and thus had no interest in overthrowing the established order. (See Strickmann I.)

60. *Shàng-qīng Hòu-shèng-dào-jūn liè-jì*, p. 5a, l.10 - 5b, l.1.

61. See below, p. 17.

62. *Shàng-qīng Hòu-shèng-dào-jūn liè-jì*, p. 5a, l.4. See translation, Note 39.

63. Cf. *Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn*: 金闕帝君真書之旨, quoted above, p. 5.

64. *Dào-zàng*, vol. 534. Both these scriptures are included in *Yún-jí-qī-qiān*, chapters 49-50. As mentioned above (p. 10) the anthology *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* also includes a version of *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng* (p. 27a-41a). It should be noted that this version of our text in the description of the meditational technique towards the end of the text (p. 35b-41a) has incorporated (in a rather haphazard way) several central passages from *Shàng-qīng Jīn-què-dì-jūn wǔ-dǒu-sān-yī tú-jué*. We may thus conclude that the central parts of this scripture are at least as early as the sixth century A.D. (On the dating of the anthology, see below, p. 19-20.)

65. P. 18a-20a.

66. It should be noted that in the discussion of our text found in *Zǐ-yáng-zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn* and translated above (p. 5) the teaching is also said to comprise the method of Holding The Three Ones on the one hand and The True Seal of Tài-jí-dì-jūn, *Tài-jí-dì-jūn zhēn-yìn* (太極帝君真印), on the other.

67. *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué*, j. 1, p. 1a-3a. Another version of the main text, accompanied by drawings of the talismans, has been included in *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng*, p. 24b-27a. See below, p. 20.

68. The 'four beginnings' mentioned above, p. 6, and the equinoxes and the solstices.

69. 此真經未行於世，是守一之宗本矣。 *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué*, j. 1, p. 3a, l.2-3.

70. See above, p. 5.

71. It should be kept in mind that this main text derives from the biography of Sū Lín.

72. 須太極帝君告乃與之也。 *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué*, j. 1, p. 4b, l.7.

73. *Dào-zàng*, vol. 1040.
74. Identical with Líng-bǎo dào-jūn, one of The Three Pure Ones. See Translation, Note 98.
75. *Shàng-qīng sù-líng shàng-piān*, p. 1a.
76. *Shàng-qīng sù-líng shàng-piān*, p. 9a-10b.
77. See above p. 16.
78. *Dào-zàng*, vol. 1026. It is indicated by the title that the collection should also include material deriving from *Dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* (大有妙經), a scripture often mentioned together with *Tài-shàng-sù-líng-jīng*. According to *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng* the two scriptures constitute, together with *Dà-dòng-zhēn-jīng*, a basic trilogy, each of the texts of which is possessed by one of The Three Ones residing in the human body. (See Translation, p. 42.) The material which is found in the collection, and which may be related to *Dà-yǒu-miào-jīng*, is however limited to the hymns contained in the last text of the collection (p. 65b-68b). It seems probable that *Dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* was in fact never to any significant extent transmitted into this world.
79. P. 12b-22a.
80. *Dào-zàng*, vol. 768, j. 5, p. 11a-12a. On the dating of *Wú-shàng-bǐ-yào*, see Schipper I, p. 11.
81. P. 3a-5a.
82. P. 15a, l.4-5 and p. 15b, l.2-3.
83. Comprising also a version of our text, *Jīn-què-dì-jūn sān-yuán-zhēn-yī jīng*, here entitled *Tài-shàng dà-dòng shǒu-yī-nèi-jīng fǎ* (太上大洞守一內經法), p. 27a-41a.
84. Entitled *Tài-shàng jiǔ-zhēn míng-kē* (太上九真明科) (p. 46b-65b). This text is also found in *Dào-zàng*, vol. 1052.
85. P. 1b-9b.
86. P. 10a-12a.
87. P. 41a-43a. On these incantations, see also above, p. 13.
88. *Huáng-tíng nèi-jǐng yù-jīng zhù* (黃庭內景玉經註), chap. 21, *Dào-zàng*, vol. 131, j. 56, p. 13b-14a.
89. See for example p. 3a. l.6.
90. *Yún-jí-qī-qiān*, j. 49, p. 11a-17b.

91. On *Shàng-qīng Jīn-què-dì-jūn wǔ-dǒu-sān-yī tú-jué*, see above, p. 15 . In the version of our text contained in chapter 50 of *Yún-jí-qī-qiān* (p. 10b-18a), and which seems to be based on the *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* version, these elements from *Shàng-qīng Jīn-què-dì-jūn wǔ-dǒu-sān-yī tú-jué* are absent.
92. *Yún-jí-qī-qiān*, j. 49, p. 3b-11a. Cf. Robinet, p. 151-54.
93. See Robinet, p. 96-203.
94. See Robinet, p. 149-203.
95. Robinet, p. 177.
96. The term is first met in *Shǐ-jì* (史記), referring to a trinity of celestial gods introduced in the beginning of the Hàn dynasty.
97. See for example *Dà-dòng-zhēn-jīng*, *Dào-zàng*, vol. 16-17, chap. 8-10. Each of these chapters is dedicated to the meditation on one of The Three Ones.
98. See Translation, Note 1.
99. See above, p. 6.
100. See above, p. 6.
101. See above, Note 22 and Translation, Note 84.
102. 如此百邪不敢干凶炁自滅亡 . *Shàng-qīng Jīn-què-dì-jūn wǔ-dǒu-sān-yī tú-jué*, p. 17a.
103. 萬真靈仙神明朝晏之日也. P. 8b.
104. See Maspero, p. 94. Cf. *Shàng-qīng Huáng-tíng nèi-jǐng jīng* (上清黃庭內景經), chap. 23, *Yún-jí-qī-qiān*, j. 12, p. 1b, l.2-3.

II. TRANSLATION

1a THE SCRIPTURE OF THE THREE PRIMORDIAL,[1] PERFECTED,[2] ONES BY THE IMPERIAL LORD OF THE GOLDEN PORTAL.[3]

Transmitted to Juān-zǐ[4] by The Green Youth of The Eastern Sea.[5]

It is through these that the Perfected venerates Unity and becomes Perfected: The Upper One, being The Celestial Emperor of the entire body;[6] The Middle One, being The Cinnabar Sovereign of The Crimson Palace;[7] The Lower One, being The Primordial King of The Yellow Court.[8] Together they supervise the twenty-four breaths[9] of the body and bring them in accord with The Twenty-four Perfected of Tài-wéi.[10]

Breath is that which binds together the insubstantial vapour and produces spirit.[11]

Each of The Three Primordial has a thousand chariots, ten thousand horsemen and a cloud chariot with a feather canopy. With this [entourage] they enter Zǐ-gōng[12] and ascend to Shàng-qīng.[13] They are recorded in the primordial registers;[14] their rank is Perfected and they fly through the nine skies.[15]

If you can hold[16] them firmly, then The Three Ones can be seen. If The Three Ones can be seen, then the thousand chariots and the ten thousand horsemen will arrive. The feather-canopied cloud chariots can be mounted. You ascend to heaven in the full light of day and rise up to Tài-wéi.

1b In Tài-wéi there are twenty-four breaths. They commingle in Hǔn-Huáng[17] in order that the breath may be bound together and transformed. At a certain time they suddenly disperse. In the breath there are twenty-four Perfected, It is in this way that the breath of the Imperial Sovereigns, The Three Ones, achieves division and transformation.

When you are able to hold The Three Ones of the body [here below], then the Imperial Sovereigns, The Three Ones of Tài-wéi above will descend and appear outside [your body] in

order to speak with you.

In the body there are also twenty-four Perfected. They are also created through the division and transformation of the refined light and clear breath of the body. If the cloud chariots come to meet them and they ascend to Tài-wěi, then The Twenty-four Perfected of Tài-wěi, and the gods of the body, will feast together in Hǔn-huáng. Their combined radiance diffuses and soars up; they bring the inner and outer powers in harmony. They go in and out of Shàng-qīng; they stop and rest in Tài-wěi.

At the same time you should also cultivate Dòng-fáng.[18]
2a Separately situated in Dòng-fáng are The Yellow Portal, The Purple Door and The Chamber of The Mysterious Essence.[19] These are common places of repose of the Venerable Lords, The Three Ones of the body. The reason for cultivating this palace at the same time is that you then more quickly will perceive The Ones. [Those who seek to become] Perfected [by virtue] of Dòng-fáng[20] must have Holding The Ones[21] as their basic practice. [Those who seek to become] Perfected [by virtue] of Holding The Ones[22] must have the cultivation of Dòng-fáng as supplementary practice.[23] Thus The Three Ones are necessary for both, and Dòng-fáng does service for both. Though their abodes are different, yet each is equally indispensable in the practice of the other.[24] If you individually obtain only one of these methods and persistently concentrate on it, then you can no more than enter Tài-qīng;[25] your rank will be no higher than King of Immortals of Tài-qīng;[26] you will not be able to roam to Tài-wěi nor float up to Shàng-qīng.

This is a mark of the ultimate realization[27] of the Perfected Emperor, The Upper One; of the complete realization[28] of the Perfected Sovereign, The Middle One; and of the wondrousness of the Perfected King, The Lower One. The Celestial Sovereign[29] attained ultimate realization and therefore above became The Sovereign Ultimately Realized. The Terrestrial Sovereign attained complete realization and therefore above became The True and Only.[30] The Sovereign of Man attained wondrousness and therefore above became The Lord of

the Multitudinous Wonders.

The Three Sovereigns came to share in Perfection through Holding The Ones; therefore The Ones did not keep themselves hidden. This was the ultimate realization of their [i.e. The
2b Three Sovereigns'] perfection. The Three Ones were all clearly visible. [The Three Sovereigns] attained Unity and were born. Therefore those mortals who learn from The Three Sovereigns emphasize Holding The Perfected Ones.

When you seek to hold The Perfected Ones your mind must be open and simple,[31] your spirit fixed, absorbed in the exertion of a mysterious influence. Therefore the hundred thoughts are not born, and the meditation is not dispersed. Once you look inward for three months, concentrating on The Ones, then their divine light will be transformed and born, and you will roam together with them outside your body. This is attained from the starting point of simplicity through guiding the thoughts so that they do not disperse, and concentrating on the breath so that it becomes perfectly harmonious. It is the fastest way of reaching the goal. But after simplicity has dispersed and Perfection has departed, then the trivial and false gradually arise, the contentious heart is born in disorder.

Thus The Ones do not appear straight away, the spirits do not respond immediately. It is not that they do not wish to stay, but that he who seeks to fixate them is not concentrated, he who seeks to contemplate them is not discerning. It is only after years of effort that it begins to resemble [the ideal]. If you can purify your heart and hold the world at a distance, concentrate your mind and be without plans, then you will still need three months of exertion before you stand face to face with The Ones.[32]

The Three Primordial are The Noble Perfection of The Nine Heavens, The True Way of The Most High.[33] Thus The True and
3a Only Great Way by means of them [i.e. The Three Primordial] brought forth The Perfected Emperors, The Mysterious Perfection of The True Way by means of them gave birth to the great gods. As for the separation and transformation of The Three Primordial, they were born out of Unity. Therefore the multitude of the Perfected return to Unity, and in this way

their mysterious work is accomplished. This [i.e. Unity] is the ancestor of The True Way, the source of The Primordial Breath.[34]

The method of The Three Ones is to be found complete in The Three Primordial. They embrace the sacred[35] books, they treasure the divine scriptures.

The first instruction is *Dà-dòng-zhēn-jīng*.[36]

The second instruction is *Dà-yǒu-miào-jīng*.[37]

The third instruction is *Tài-shàng-sù-lǐng*.

Therefore the Imperial Lord, The Upper One, treasures *Dà-dòng-zhēn-jīng*. The Cinnabar Sovereign, The Middle One, treasures *Dà-yǒu-miào-jīng*. The Primordial King, The Lower One, treasures *Tài-shàng-sù-lǐng*. These three texts are the quintessential part of The Way to Perfection, the supreme documents of The Three Ones. Moreover they are the 'forbidden instructions'[38] of Shàng-qīng. Truly wondrous and indescribable! This way is not distant! Holding The Ones brings about the appearance of The Three Ones. When you see them, you can
3b ask for these scriptures. You will surely also be entrusted with The Method of Holding The Three Ones, being the first part of The Writings of Perfection[39] of The Imperial Lord of The Golden Portal of The August Heaven of Shàng-qīng, the most wondrous instruction of the multitudinous Perfected.[40]

If you can hold The Ones, The Ones will also hold you. If you can see The Ones, The Ones will also see you. Whether you are coming or going, in all circumstances and during all activities, you must constantly think of The Ones. Eating and drinking, think of The Ones. Happy and rejoicing, think of The Ones. Sad and grieving, think of The Ones. Afflicted and suffering, think of The Ones. In danger and distress, think of The Ones. Crossing fire and water, think of The Ones. Travelling by carriage or on horseback, think of The Ones. In times of crisis think of The Ones.

There are those who think of The Ones, but from start to finish merely gaze; their thoughts are still many. The thoughts must be concentrated.[41]

Ill-fated persons, their will is not firm! Or if it is firm, it cannot endure. They know the names of The Ones but cannot hold them. Or if they can hold them, they cannot be

resolute. They boast and bluster but cannot constantly hold [The Ones]. Therefore The Three Ones depart, and then the true breath disappears. If you have lost the true breath, then your breath will be corrupt. If your breath is corrupt, then the day of your death will be near.

When ordinary people study The Way, they seek but the transitory and trivial and have no faith in the worth of The Per-
4a fected Ones. At the start they may have the will, but later they will surely go to ruin. This is because their intentions are not united so that the corrupt breath penetrates into them.

The precepts of Holding The Ones warn against lack of concentration. If you have concentration, but without endurance, or if it endures but is not essential, then The Three Ones will depart. Your body will be an empty house without a master. In this disastrous condition, how could you endure for long?

Breath[42] cleaves together and becomes essence; essence is set in motion and becomes spirit; spirit is transformed and becomes The Child. The Child rises and becomes The Perfected. The Perfected ascends and becomes The Infant. These are The Perfected Ones.

Heaven has Three Luminaries,[43] namely the sun, the moon and the stars. They are also The Three Essential.[44] By means of these long life is achieved. Man has Three Treasures.[45] These are the three cinnabar-fields. They are also The Three Perfected.[46] By means of them eternal life is achieved. *Lǐng-bǎo-jīng*[47] says: "The Celestial Essential, The Terrestrial Perfected, these three treasures endure forever";[48] this refers to the above-mentioned.

The upper cinnabar-field is situated between the two eye brows.

The middle cinnabar-field is The Crimson Palace of the heart.

The lower cinnabar-field is situated three inches below the navel.

In all, three cinnabar-fields.

The Infant dwells in the palace of the upper cinnabar-field.

The Perfected dwells in the palace of the middle cinnabar-field.

4b The Child dwells in the palace of the lower cinnabar-field.

Starting from above the space between the two eyebrows and going one inch inward, one comes to Míng-táng. Two inches inward one comes to Dòng-fáng. Three inches inward one comes to the palace of Dān-tián, also called Ní-wán.[49] Here 'inward' refers to the direction toward the back of the neck. The palace of Dān-tián Ní-wán is perfectly square, each side measuring one inch. The purple breath surges up to heaven[50] and shines out to a distance of ninety thousand miles.

[The palace] is covered by the seven stars of The Big Dipper, the bowl of The Dipper is the cover, and the handle points forward and outward. It waxes large and small, a welter of flying forms — it is fixated in the mind.[51] The Upper Primordial, The Infant dwells here, covered by The Dipper. The taboo name[52] of The Infant is Xuán-níng-tiān,[53] his cognomen[54] is Sān-yuán-xiān.[55] His rank is Celestial Emperor of Ní-wán. To his right, facing him, is an Imperial Minister. He is born through the ascent and transformation of the refined spirit of the teeth, tongue and brain. His taboo name is Zhào-lè-jīng,[56] his cognomen is Zhòng-xuán-shēng.[57] Above he is invested as Imperial Minister.[58]

Together these two rule in Ní-wán. Both are dressed in
5a scarlet, embroidered robes.[59] They look like newborn infants. The Celestial Emperor holds The Divine-Tiger-Talisman of Shàng-qīng.[60] The Imperial Minister holds *Dà-dòng-zhēn-jīng*. They sit either both facing outwards or facing each other. Inwardly they watch over Ní-wán and the face, eyes, mouth, tongue, teeth, ears, nose and hair. Outwardly they frighten off the manifold demons and evil spirits of The Six Heavens.[61] Once every five days the three *hún*-souls[62] come to pay hommage to them and receive instructions.

The heart is the middle cinnabar-field. It is called The Crimson Palace and protects the center of the heart. It is perfectly square, each side measuring one inch. Its red vapours reach up to heaven and shine out to a distance of thirty thousand miles. It transforms itself in confusion — it is fixated in the mind. The Middle Primordial, The Per-

fected dwells here. His taboo name is Shén-yùn-zhū,[63] his cognomen is Zǐ-nán-dān.[64] His rank is Cinnabar Sovereign of The Crimson Palace. To his right is a minister.[65] He is formed through the cleaving together and transformation of the refined spirit of the four viscera,[66] whereafter he is
5b invested as a minister in The Crimson Palace. His taboo name is Guāng-jiān.[67] His cognomen is Sì-líng.[68]

Together these two rule in The Crimson Palace. Both are dressed in robes of red brocade. They look like newborn infants. The Cinnabar Sovereign holds in his left hand the planet Mars, in his right hand *Tài-bǎo-jīng*.[69] The minister holds *Dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* and The Eight Luminairies.[70] They sit either both facing outwards or facing each other. Inwardly they watch over the muscles, bones, five viscera, blood and flesh. Outwardly they frighten away and dispel the harmful effects of the manifold evil influences. They nurture the light and pacify the spirit, so that one may obtain eternal life and perpetual youth and become a winged immortal in Tài-xiāo.[71] Once every three days the three *hún*-souls and the seven *pò*-souls come to pay hommage to them and receive instructions.

The place three inches below the navel is called The Gate of Destiny,[72] The Palace of The Cinnabar-field.[73] The Lower Primordial, The Child dwells here. Each side measures one inch. The white breath surges up to heaven and shines out to a distance of seventy thousand miles. It waxes large and small, a welter of flying forms – it is fixated in the mind. The taboo name of The Lower Primordial, The Child is Shǐ-
6a míng-jīng,[74] his cognomen is Yuán-yáng-chāng.[75] His rank is Primordial King of The Yellow Court. To his right is a Guardian Minister.[76] He is born through the binding together of vapour, ascent and transformation of the spirit of the essence, breath and spittle, whereafter he is invested as minister in The Palace of The Cinnabar-field. His taboo name is Guǐ-shàng-míng,[77] his cognomen is Gǔ-xià-xuán.[78]

Together these two rule in The [Palace of The] Cinnabar-field in the lower division of the body. Both are dressed in robes of yellow, embroidered gauze. They look like newborn infants. The Primordial King of The Yellow Court holds

in his left hand the planet Venus, in his right hand *Yù-chén-jīn-zhēn-jīng*.[79] The minister holds *Tài-shàng-sù-líng-jīng* and *Jiǔ-tíng-shēng-jǐng-fú*.[80] They sit either both facing outwards or facing each other. Inwardly they watch over the four limbs, the juices and blood, and the receptacles: intestines, stomach and bladder.[81] Outwardly they dispel calamity and disaster and repel the manifold evil influences. Three times each day the three *hún*-souls and the seven *pò*-souls come to pay hommage and receive instructions from The Primordial King.

The method of Holding The Ones:[82]

On the day *lì-chūn*[83] at midnight one sits upright, facing
6b east, exhales nine times and swallows the spittle thirty-five times. Then one fixates the seven stars of The Big Dipper. It comes slowly downward until it rests above one's head, receding toward heaven [i.e. upright], with the handle pointing directly forward toward the east. One fixates it in such a way that the two stars Yīn-jīng (Essence of Yīn) and Zhēn-rén (The Perfected) are just above the top of the head, while the two stars Yáng-míng (Brightness of Yáng) and Xuán-míng (Mysterious Darkness) are placed further up. Yáng-míng and Yīn-jīng are behind, Xuán-míng and Zhēn-rén are in front.[84] At this the thoughts are as if fixated.

When these positions are established one further meditates on the Venerable Lords, The Three Ones. Suddenly they are transformed and emerge; they appear together in the bowl of The Dipper. After a short while the three ministers are also born in the same way as The Three Venerable. Again after a short while one sees these six ascend together to Xuán-míng, go east, passing Gāng-xīng, until they reach Tiān-guān (The Gate of Heaven), where they stop.[85] They all turn toward one's mouth, and further one fixates the vision of them.

The Upper Primordial leans with his hand on the upper minister, The Middle Primordial leans with his hand on the middle minister, and The Lower Primordial leans with his hand on the lower minister.

Thereupon one breathes in once, very deeply. The Upper
7a Primordial and his minister follow with the breath and enter

the mouth. They ascend and return to the Nǐ-wán palace. Thereafter one breathes in once more, very deeply. The Middle Primordial and his minister follow with the breath and enter the mouth. They descend and return to The Crimson Palace. Thereafter one breathes in once more, very deeply. The Lower Primordial and his minister follow with the breath and enter the mouth. They descend and return to the lower cinnabar-field.

One fixates the star Tiān-guān and brings it down before the mouth at a distance of seven feet. The Three Ones make their entrance into one's three palaces.

When all this is completed then one meditates[86] to determine that The Perfected Ones are at rest in their respective palaces. Sitting or lying down one meditates on them in the mind. If one has some desires, then one states them inwardly point by point. If one has a request, it can also be presented here. Meditation requires only peace and solitude. One can also meditate in the daytime in a quiet bedchamber.

When one fixates The Three Ones on the day *lì-xià*,[87] one faces south and meditates as before, on the day *lì-chūn*.

When one fixates The Three Ones on the day *lì-qiū*,[88] one faces west and meditates as on the day *lì-xià*.

7b When one fixates The Three Ones on the day *lì-dōng*,[89] one faces north and meditates as on the day *lì-qiū*.

Having determined through meditation that The Three Ones are at rest in their respective palaces, one very quietly recites the following invocation:[90]

The five directions are governed by The Dipper,[91]
spirit brings down the seven stars.
The Three Venerable emerge and are transformed,
above they summon The Purple Court.[92]
The Six Gods[93] come and go
in the three palaces and at the cinnabar walls.[94]
Mysteriously they communicate with The Great Emperor,[95]
below they penetrate to The Yellow Quiescence.[96]
The Celestial Perfected watch over them
and summon forth The Six Dīng.[97]

The immortals drift up together with them
and ride the vapours of The Three Pure [Celestial Regions].[98]
The four limbs become firm and imperishable,
the five viscera are born of themselves.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS:

DZYJ *Dēng-zhēn-yǐn-jué*
TSSL *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-lìng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng*
YJQQ *Yún-jí-qī-qīān*
ZLWYT *Dòng-xuán líng-bǎo zhēn-líng wèi-yè-tú*

1. The term *sān-yuán* (三元) has several different meanings:

a) Basically it is used to designate the three primordial forces: Heaven, Earth and Man. The other meanings of the term represent the manifestations at different levels of these primordial forces. (See Robinet, p. 149-203.) To The Three Primordial, conceived as three celestial deities, correspond within the popular religion three annual festivals falling on the fifteenth of the first month (上元), the fifteenth of the seventh month (中元), and the fifteenth of the tenth month (下元) respectively, i.e. the birthdays of the gods in question. (Compare Maspero, p. 179.)

b) In our text the term *sān-yuán* is used interchangeably with *sān-yī* (三一), The Three Ones, referring to the three supreme gods of the body. On The Three Ones, see above, p. 22-28. The amalgamation of the two originally independent systems is expressed in our text in terms like *sān-yuán-zhēn-yī* (三元真一), The Three Primordial, Perfected, Ones.

c) Furthermore the term *sān-yuán* is used denoting the three divisions of the body, referring more precisely to the three cinnabar-fields, i.e. the central palaces of the inner gods. (See Note 18.) Compare for example the following commentary by Tāo hóng-jǐng, in DZYJ, j. 1, p. 1a: 上中下元者謂身中三元之宮, "The Upper, Middle and Lower Primordial are the palaces of The Three Primordial in the body". This meaning of the term also occurs in our text.

2. On the meaning of *zhēn* (真), Perfected, see Introduction,

Note 2.

3. Jīn-què-dì-jūn (金闕帝君). See Introduction, p. 12-15. As for the translation of dì (帝) by 'emperor' or 'imperial' it should be borne in mind that originally the term designated celestial powers. This was the very reason why the first emperor of the Qín dynasty adopted it as part of his title.

4. On Juān-zǐ (涓子) and the legend of the transmission of our text, see Introduction p. 4-7.

5. Dōng-hǎi-qīng-tóng (東海青童). The Green Youth rules over the paradisaic island Fang-zhū (方諸) in The Eastern Sea. He is invested with the office of Tài-sī-mìng (太司命), Supreme Controller of Destinies (see *Zhēn-gào*, j. 9, p. 21b-22a). We also find him listed in ZLWYT, p. 3b, placed in the Shàng-qīng heaven and here with the additional title of Supreme Minister (上相) of The Golden Portal.

   The Green Youth is a central figure in the transmission of Shàng-qīng texts. Thus also in *Hàn Wǔ-dì nèi-zhuàn* (漢武帝內傳), the connection of which to the Máo-shān sect has been demonstrated by K.M. Schipper, who furthermore says: "Il n'y a qu'une seule divinité qui soit nommée aussi souvent qu'elle [i.e. Xī-wáng-mǔ, 西王母] pour les transmissions, c'est le Seigneur le Garconnet Vert. Or ce Garconnet Vert n'est autre que le 東王公, le partenaire et le complément symétrique de la Si-wang-mou." (Schipper I, p. 21.)

6. In this first paragraph The Three Ones are summarily introduced as the supreme gods of the body. A more detailed description is given later in the text (p. 44-46), where we are told that The Upper One holds the rank of Celestial Emperor of Ní-wán. (Ní-wán is the upper cinnabar-field placed in the head, see Note 18.) The titles of The Middle One and The Lower One given in the more detailed description are the same as here in the first paragraph.

7. The Crimson Palace, Jiàng-gōng (絳宮) is the middle cinnabar-field, i.e. the heart, see Note 18. 'Cinnabar Sovereign' translates Dān-huáng (丹皇). The word *dān*, besides meaning cinnabar, also has the meanings elixir of immortality and alchemy in general. In Taoist contexts it is a highly posi-

tive word. Cinnabar is the raw material of alchemy, and as such it is charged with divine possibilities. It is interesting to notice that one of the names for cinnabar, occurring in *Bào-pú-zǐ*, is *rì-jīng* (日精), 'essence of the sun' (see Needham, vol. 5, 2, p. 118). Kaltenmark mentions the possibility that cinnabar originally was eaten in order to transfer the divine qualities of the sun to the adept (Kaltenmark I, p. 18-19). In any case it seems obvious that this is the underlying idea which made possible the emergence of alchemy in China: the belief that a substance which is part of the divine reality, and which thus contains the divine potency, can be found or can be produced. Assuming that one has in fact got this substance it is only natural, and in accordance with widespread primitive beliefs, that one should try to eat it.

In expressions like 'cinnabar-field' and 'Cinnabar Sovereign' the word *dān* seems to carry exactly this meaning of divine material, divine reality.

As regards the translation of *huáng* by 'sovereign', the same qualification applies as mentioned in the case of *dì* in Note 3. The term was originally used to designate celestial powers, and together with *dì* it was adopted as the title of the first emperor: Huáng-dì.

8. Huáng-tíng (黃庭) here stands for the lower cinnabar-field. See also Introduction, Note 20.

9. 'Breath' translates *qì* (氣), one of the key concepts of Chinese thought. The term is used to denote various kinds of gaseous substances or energies: the air, the emanations at certain places etc.; thus also denoting the primordial breath or breaths of creation, *yuán-qì* (元氣), as well as the constituent vital force of individual objects. The concept combines, in varying proportions according to the context, the aspects of energy and of substance. In our text the term is frequently used more especially to designate one of the three vital forces/substances of the body, i.e. the one related to the breath. The two others are *shén* (神), ' spirit', related to consciousness, and *jīng* (精), 'essence', related to the spinal marrow. The three vital forces are in some texts referred to as *sān-yī* (三一),

The Three Ones. They represent the microcosmic counterpart of the creative breaths of the universe. (See Robinet, p. 149-203.)

However in the present passage the text mentions twenty-four breaths. These correspond to the division of the body into twenty-four sections and of the year into twenty-four half-months. See Maspero, p. 381-82.

10. 太微 See Ho Peng Yoke: *The astronomical chapters of the Chin Shu* (Paris 1966): "The Chinese identified three sidereal regions, which are bounded by chains of stars forming what they called 'yüan' [垣] (walls, enclosures). These regions are (i) Tzu Wei [紫微], composing of stars in Draco, Ursa Major and Camelopardus; (ii) T'ai Wei, composing of stars in Virgo, Leo and Coma Berenices; and (iii) T'ien Shih [天市], composing of stars in Hercules, Serpens, Ophiuchus and Aquila." (p. 71, Note d.)

11. 夫氣者結虛煙而成神也 This sentence, which has the conventional form of a definition, seems to explain that the celestial gods were created out of the primordial breath. This order of creation is reflected in the interior processes of transformation through which breath becomes essence, essence becomes spirit, and spirit becomes the supreme inner gods. (See Translation, p. 43.)

12. Zǐ-gōng (紫宮), The Purple Palace, is the central area around the north star (see Ho Peng Yoke, p. 67).

13. See Introduction, p. 1-2.

14. *Liè-lù yuán-tú* (列錄元圖). *Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn*, when summarizing our text (see Introduction, p. 5-6), has the variant: *liè-míng jiǔ-tú* (列名九圖) (p. 6b, l.1). It is obvious that 元 and 九 may easily be confused; it is only difficult to determine which reading is the more original.

15. *Jiǔ-hsiāo* (九霄). The term is used synonymously with *jiǔ-tiān* (九天), the nine heavens. See also Note 71.

16. *Shǒu* (守) is throughout the text translated 'hold'. It is the general term for various kinds of meditation, whose common purpose is to maintain and strengthen certain elements within the body. In our text it refers to the meditation on the inner gods. (See Introduction, p. 12.)

Another term for this meditation is *cún* (存). It is used more specifically to designate the visualization of the gods, and it is here translated 'fixate'.

17. 混黃. This term seems to be synonymous with *Hǔn-yuán* (混元), The Primordial Chaos.

18. The following passage is quoted in DZYJ (see Introduction, p. 9), and it is there accompanied by the commentaries of Táo Hóng-jǐng (j. 1, p. 10b-11a). In order to understand this and other parts of the text it is necessary to have some knowledge of Taoist physiology. Especially important are the notions of the three cinnabar-fields, each the governing centre of one of the three divisions of the body. They are situated, respectively, in the head, in the heart, and three inches below the navel, and each is the residence of one of The Three Ones. Each of the cinnabar-fields is composed of nine palaces, each measuring one inch in length, breadth and height. As fas as the upper cinnabar-field is concerned these palaces are arranged in two layers with five below and four above. A description of the nine palaces of the head is found in DZYJ, j. 1, p. 3a-4a, in one of the central passages related to the tradition of meditation on The Three Ones. (It was noted above chat this passage has been included in several of the texts of the tradition, and that it further was quoted in *Wú-shàng-bì-yào*. See Introduction, p. 19.) It follows from this description that when one starts from above the space between the two eyebrows and goes three tenths of an inch inward, then one comes to the entrance buildings, Shǒu-cùn (守寸). One inch inward one comes to Míng-táng (明堂), which is the anterior palace of the lower layer. Two inches inward one comes to Dòng-fáng (洞房), which is inhabited by another trinity of gods: The Three Perfected, *sān-zhēn* (三真): Wú-yǐng-jūn (無英君), Bó-yuán-jūn (白元君) and Huáng-lǎo-jūn (黃老君). That one should at the same time cultivate Dòng-fáng means that one should also worship these gods, in the way prescribed in texts especially dedicated to this palace.(See DZYJ, j. 1, p. 4b, l.1-2.) Finally three inches inward one comes to Dān-tián-gōng (丹田宮) or Ní-wán (泥丸= Nirvana), which is the abode of The

Upper One.

For the rest of the palaces see Maspero's translation of the above-mentioned passage, taken from *Dòng-zhēn tài-shàng-sù-líng dòng-yuán dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* (Maspero, p. 492).

19. 黄闕，紫户 and 玄精之室. These three buildings are by some assumed to be situated inside Dòng-fáng itself (Maspero, p. 562). Tāo Hóng-jǐng considers them to be adjacent pavilions (DZYJ, j. 1, p. 11a).
20. *Dòng-fáng zhēn-rén* (洞房真人).
21. *Shǒu-yī* (守一) is the technical term for the kind of meditation described in our text, the meditation on The Three Ones; it is here used synonymous with *shǒu-sān-yī* (守三一), Holding The Three Ones. The term *shǒu-yī* has been important within several different kinds of Taoism. It was first used by the early Taoist masters, Lǎo-zǐ and Zhuāng-zǐ, to designate concentration on the unity of all things, the meditation on The Way. Later the term was taken over by the sect of The Celestial Masters, and *shǒu-yī* came to mean 'observing the precepts of The One', i.e. of The Way. It is here concerned solely with moral behaviour, thus reflecting the emphasis of this sect in its early stages.

   Shǒu-yī is thus a good example of the way Taoist terms remain the same while gradually changing their content. It should be noted however that the resulting ambiguity is sometimes intended, so that for example the term *shǒu-yī* in our text may in some passages also be taken in the broader sense of 'concentrating on The Unity'.
22. *Shǒu-yī zhēn-rén* (守一真人).
23. The exact expression is *huá-gài* (華蓋), 'flower canopy', an imperial attribute.
24. Here ends the connection with DZYJ, the main text of which continues as follows to the end of the chapter: "In Dòng-fáng are The Three Perfected. The one to the left is Wú-yǐng gōng-zǐ. The one to the right is Bó-yuán-jūn. The one in the middle is Huáng-lǎo-jūn. These three persons reign together in Dòng-fáng. The way of these winged Perfected is described in a separate scripture." (DZYJ, j. 1, p. 11a-b.)
25. This heaven was the goal of Gé Hóng (葛洪) (who wrote *Bào-pú-zǐ* in the early fourth century A.D.). Here it is

clearly placed on a lower level in comparison to the supreme heavens of the Máo-shān sect. It is however kept as a part of the system, and in ZLWYT it constitutes the fourth highest of the seven celestial levels.

26. *Tài-qīng xiān-wáng* (太清仙王).
27. *Jí* (極).
28. *Zhì* (至).
29. Tiān-huáng (天皇). Here we meet another famous trinity of gods, *sān-huáng* (三皇), The Three Sovereigns. They represent the three fundamental levels: Heaven, Earth and Man, and are thus parallel to the three primordial forces, *sān-yuán*. Like these The Three Sovereigns have manifestations at a lower plane of existence, so that the term also refers to three mythological emperors of Chinese history. On the textual tradition associated with The Three Sovereigns, see Schipper I, p. 28-29.
30. Zhèng-yī (正一). Since the third century A.D. this term has been used especially to designate the sect of The Celestial Masters.
31. Together these two words translate *pú* (樸), the classical Taoist term for the original simplicity of things, "the uncarved block".
32. YJQQ: 亦必三月之精思與一混合也 , "you still need three months of meditation before you can unite with The Ones".
33. Tài-shàng (太上) is a general term for the supreme deity at the time in question.
34. In this rather abstract, cosmological passage, as a few times above, the word *yī* (一) is used in its original sense, referring to the primordial unity, from which everything was created, and to which one may return in order to obtain rebirth as an immortal.
35. *Líng* (靈).
36. See Introduction, p. 11.
37. *Dà-yǒu-miào-jīng* (大有妙經) and *Tài-shàng-sù-líng* (太上素靈) are often mentioned together as basic scriptures of the Shàng-qīng tradition (compare for example *Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn*, p. 8b). Apparently none of these scriptures have been transmitted in their entirety

into this world. On the material said to derive from the scriptures, see Introduction, p. 16-21.

38. *Jìn-jué* (禁訣). This term probably refers to the fact that the texts may only be transmitted, when certain sonditions are fulfilled.

39. *Zhēn-shū* (真書). This term seems to be related to mediumistic writing. Compare Schipper I, p. 11-12.

40. This title is also mentioned in *Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén nèi-zhuàn*, p. 5b, translated Introduction, p. 5.

41. Following YJQQ: 思念必傳.

42. In this passage the stepwise transformation of the three vital forces of the body into The Three Ones is described. (See also Notes 9 and 11.) The Three Ones are mentioned by their personal names: Chì-zǐ (赤子), The Infant, Zhēn-rén (真人), The Perfected, and Yīng-ér (嬰兒), The Child.

43. *Sān-xuán* (三玄) has in TSSL been amended to *sān-guāng* (三光), which is a common term for sun, moon and stars.

44. Following YJQQ and TSSL, which both have 亦為三精 reading 為 for the 有 of the *Dào-zàng* variant.

45. The religious concept of *bǎo* (寶), 'treasure' has been discussed by Max Kaltenmark in the article "Ling-pao: Note sur un terme du Taoisme religieux". The magical treasures of Chinese antiquity were understood to have a bipartite existence, one half being placed on earth and the other existing in heaven. Possession of the terrestrial half enables one to summon the celestial half and thus through the union of heaven and earth to cause renewal. The same idea lies at the root of the Taoist talisman, *fú* (符). See also Note 48.

46. *Sān-zhēn* (三真). Not to be confused with the three gods of the same name, who reside in Dòng-fáng. See Note 18.

47. 靈寶經. A very important text, known already to Gé Hóng. Its history is described in Kaltenmark II.

48. The YJQQ variant corrects *sān-bǎo* (三寶) into *liù-bǎo* (六寶), six treasures, thus bringing the text into accordance with elementary algebra. The more difficult reading, three treasures, is however in better agreement with the theory of magical treasures, according to which each treasure has a celestial and terrestrial half, which must

be joined together in order that the treasure may have its magical effect. Three plus three makes three. See also Note 45.

As explained in Kaltenmark II the basic idea of the magical treasures is expressed in the bipartite term *líng-bǎo* (靈寶). It is worth noticing that also in our text the term *bǎo* signifies the terrestrial half in particular, and that this half is identified with the cinnabar-fields of the human body. The divine process takes place inside man himself. A parallel idea is found in the sect of The Celestial Masters, for example in the Xiǎng-ěr (想爾) commentary to Lǎo-zǐ (see Kaltenmark II, p. 582-84). Here the terrestrial half of the treasure is constituted by the vital energy, *jīng* (精), of the human body. This energy must be carefully preserved in order to ensure communication with Heaven. Kaltenmark further demonstrates a connection with shamanism in ancient South China. One of the names for the shaman, *wú* (巫), found in The Nine Songs of *Chǔ-cí* (楚辭), is *líng-bǎo* (靈保 or 寶).

It appears that the shamans of ancient China were often represented as being paralysed in one half of the body, only attaining completeness when they were possessed by the god (Kaltenmark II, p. 576-79).

49. See Note 18.

50. Here TSSL inserts: 紫炁中有日象圓九寸, "in the purple breath there is the resemblance of a sun, measuring nine inches in circumference".

51. *Zài yì cún zhī* (在意存之). On the term *cún* (存), which is translated by 'fixate', see Note 16 and Introduction, p. 12. The whole sentence is recapitulated on p. 44 and 45 in connection with the descriptions of the middle and lower cinnabar-fields respectively.

The preceding passage appears to sum up a technique of meditation in connection with the central palace. It becomes easier to understand when it is compared with the numerous descriptions of such techniques contained in *Shàng-qīng Jīn-què-dì-jūn wǔ-dǒu-sān-yī tú-jué*, the other basic scripture of the tradition of meditation on The Three Ones (see Introduction, p. 15. The text is here quoted from

chapter 49 of YJQQ). It is a common feature of almost all these techniques that the manipulation of The Big Dipper plays a prominent part. See for example YJQQ, j. 49, p. 11b: *Zhōu-jūn kǒu-jué* (周君口訣), "Oral instructions from Lord Zhōu" (i.e. from Zhōu Yì-shān, also known as Zǐ-yáng zhēn-rén): 巾七星者以魁覆頭，杓柄前指也. "Using the seven stars [of The Dipper] as headcloth means that the head is covered by the bowl of The Dipper, while the handle points forward."

Compare also the following description from j. 49, p. 16b:

守一之法…因仰視北斗七星使紫炁從斗中出入兆身中三宮之內北向接手兩膝上心存三一三卿與兆俱乘紫氣上登大極大極北極星也存令忘身失體恍焉如昇天之狀

"Method of Holding The Ones: ... Thereupon one looks up toward the seven stars of The Big Dipper. One causes the purple breath to come out of The Dipper and enter into the three palaces of one's body. One faces north and folds the hands across the knees. One fixates in the mind The Three Ones and the three ministers, in such a way that together with oneself they mount the purple breath and rise up to Tài-jí. Tài-jí is the north star. The fixating makes one forget about one's own body. There is a confusion like an ascent to heaven."

52. *Huì* (諱).
53. 玄凝天, Mysteriously Congealed in Heaven.
54. *Zì* (字).
55. 三元先, First of The Three Primordial.
56. 肇勤精.
57. 仲玄生.
58. Following YJQQ, which has 入 instead of 人.
59. According to TSSL they are both naked.
60. *Shàng-qīng shén-hǔ-fú* (上清神虎符). This talisman is included as number 22 in the list of Shàng-qīng texts mentioned in the Introduction, p. 3. Compare Hou, p. 113, who mentions the *hǔ-tóu-fú* (虎頭符), a talisman surmounted by the head of a tiger. Illustrations are given from

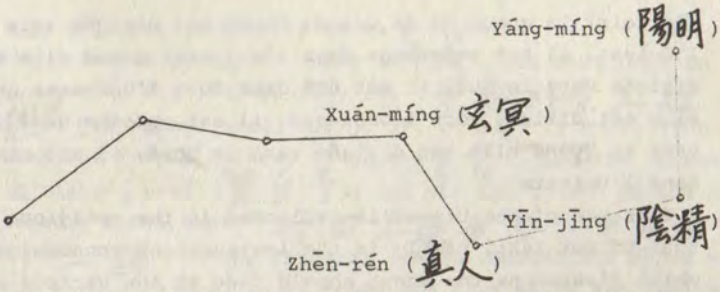
protective bronze amulets, *mìng-qián* (命錢).

The tiger is a symbol of *yīn* (陰), the feminine principle, and a spirit of the earth. As such it is qualified to fight demons, these being generally conceived as terrestrial spirits, *jīng* (精). Compare also Schipper V, p. 660-64, on Fú-dé-zhèng-shén (福德正神), The Orthodox Spirit of Good Merit, i.e. Tǔ-dì-gong (土地公), The Lord of the Earth, who keeps out the demons, being himself a spirit of the earth, but at the same time the only one which is "orthodoxly" so.

61. *Liù-tiān* (六天). This term was used by the followers of the Máo-shān sect as a joint designation for the residences of all the evil gods and spirits worshipped in the contemporary popular religion. The depravity of these cults and the wickedness of their gods were considered to be the causes of the deplorable condition of the world of that day. See Strickmann I, p. 13.
62. The three *hún*-souls (魂) are related to consciousness and to the masculine, spiritual principle, and after the death of the individual they escape to heaven, whereas the seven *pò*-souls (魄), who are related to sense perception and to the feminine, carnal principle, after death are swallowed by the earth.
63. 神還珠.
64. 子南丹.
65. *Fǔ-huáng-qīng* (輔皇卿). I have not tried in the translation to distinguish between the different designations for the superior minister, which occur here and in the following.
66. YJQQ and TSSL both have the more common *wǔ-zàng* (五藏), the five viscera: the lungs, heart, spleen, liver and kidneys.
67. 光堅.
68. 四靈.
69. 太保經. I have not been able to find this text. YJQQ corrects into *Tài-qīng-jīng* (太清經), which is mentioned in *Bào-pú-zǐ*.
70. Bā-jǐng (八景). Compare Maspero's discussion in a "Note additionelle" entitled "L'expression bajing" (Maspero, p.

588-89). Having adduced the explanations of three different commentators he concludes that the term refers to some kind of celestial phenomena.

71. 太霄. One of the nine divisions of the celestial sphere, *jiŭ-hsiāo* (九霄). See for example *Líng-bǎo wú-liàng dù-rén shàng-pǐn miào-jīng fú-tú* (靈寶无量度人上品妙經符圖), *Dào-zàng*, vol. 67, j. 2, p. 3a-6a.
72. Mìng-mén (命門). This term is also sometimes used to designate the navel itself.
73. It seems that originally only one cinnabar-field was known, namely the lower cinnabar-field below the navel. This is indicated among other things by the fact that in the later system of three cinnabar-fields, which we meet here, the lower cinnabar-field is still known by the simple designation Dān-tiān-gōng (丹田宮), The Palace of The Cinnabar-field. (See Schipper IV, p. 10, Note 31.) It is rather confusing that the same designation is also sometimes used for the central palace of both the upper and the lower cinnabar-field.
74. 始明精, Essence of The Light of The Beginning.
75. 元陽昌, Vigour of Primordial Yáng.
76. *Bǎo-zhèn bì-qīng* (保鎮碧卿).
77. 歸上明, Return to The Light Above.
78. 谷下玄, The Mystery of The Valley.
79. 玉晨金真經. I have not been able to find this text.
80. 九庭生景符. A talisman which I have not been able to identify.
81. These three together comprise what is usually referred to as *liù-fŭ* (六府), the six receptacles. (See for example Maspero, p. 359.)
82. The following passage has been translated in Maspero, p. 402. His misinterpretation of the names of the stars mentioned in the text has however, marred the result.
83. 立春, 'beginning of spring', equivalent to the fourth or fifth of February.
84. In this passage we meet the specially Taoist, esoteric names of the four stars of the bowl of The Big Dipper. From the very detailed description of their mutual positions the following picture can be inferred:



A verification of these terms can be found in *Tài-shàng xuán-líng běi-dǒu běn-mìng yán-shēng zhēn-jīng* (太上玄靈北斗本命延生真經), (*Dào-zàng*, vol. 341, p. 4b-5a).

Since the time of The Six Dynasties and up to the present The Big Dipper has occupied a position of prime importance in Chinese religion. (See Hou, p. 106-26.) The Big Dipper is the universal store and symbol of human life, the centre of the celestial administration of human destinies. Each person is under the protection of one of the twelve *běn-mìng-yuán-shén* (本命元神), The Primordial Spirits of The Fundamental Destiny, who reside in the seven stars of The Big Dipper. They allocate life to human beings according to astrological computation and according to the merit of each individual. See also Introduction, Note 22 and p. 25.

The Big Dipper is also considered to be the celestial regulator of the universal forces. See the translation by Ho Peng Yoke from the official history of the Jìn dynasty (Ho Peng Yoke, p. 73): "they [i.e. the seven stars] move in the centre of the heavens and look down to control the four quarters in order to establish the four seasons and (to distribute) evenly the Five Elements."

Very often the Big Dipper is considered to be in the centre of heaven (see for example Seidel I, p. 44). As a matter of fact it was in ancient times closer to the pole of heaven than it is now. So much the more natural it must have been to use it as an indicator of the seasons, in the way described for example in *Hé-guān-zǐ* (鶡冠子), a work not later than the Eastern Han dynasty (here quoted from G. Schlegel: *Uranographie Chinoise*, p. 503-04): "Quand

(le soir) la queue de la Grande Ourse est dirigée vers l'Orient, il est printemps dans l'Univers; quand elle est dirigée vers le Sud, il est été dans tout l'Univers; quand elle est dirigée vers l'Occident, il est automne dans l'Univers et quand elle est dirigée vers le Nord, il est hiver dans l'Univers".

This use of The Dipper is reflected in the religious ritual of our text, namely in the instructions concerning which directions the adept should face at the various seasons, as he fixates The Dipper (p. 46 and 47). These instructions are in accordance with the actual orientation of The Dipper at the respective seasons, as it is described in the quotation above.

85. In this sentence the fifth and the seventh star of The Big Dipper are mentioned. Verification of the terms can be found in *Tài-shàng xuán-líng běi-dǒu běn-mìng yán-shēng zhēn-jīng* (see Note 84 above), p. 5a, which says that the fifth star is called Gāng-xīng (綱星) (and it must be a mistake for this when our text reads gāng-xíng (剛行)), and that the seventh star is called Tiān-guān (天關).

86. *Jīng-niàn* (精念). This term is here used alternating with *cún-sī* (存思). Both are general terms for meditation.

87. 立夏, 'beginning of summer', equivalent to the sixth or seventh of May.

88. 立秋, 'beginning of autumn', equivalent to the eighth or ninth of August.

89. 立冬, 'beginning of winter', equivalent to the seventh or eighth of November.

90. The following translation is subject to some uncertainty. I have not found invocations similar enough to be able to illuminate this one.

91. *Dǒu* (斗). The character might also refer to The Five Dippers, each of which is governing one of the five directions (see Introduction, Note 22). The continuation seems however to indicate that only The Northern Dipper, The Big Dipper, is in question.

92. Zǐ-tíng (紫庭). Perhaps a variant of Zǐ-gōng (紫宮), the central north pole area.

93. *Liù-shén* (六神). Perhaps this term refers to The Three

Ones together with their three ministers.

94. The cinnabar walls, *dān-chéng* (丹城), are mentioned in *Huáng-tíng wài-jǐng yù-jīng zhù* (黃庭外景玉經註), (*Dào-zàng*, vol. 131, j. 59, p. 4a), in connection with The Purple Palace, zǐ-gōng (紫宮), and the commentary of Liáng-qiū-zǐ (梁丘子) (of the first half of the eighth century A.D.) says: 丹田上通紫宮，中有五城十二樓，"The cinnabar fields communicate above with The Purple Palace, in it there are five walls and twelve towers".

95. The Great Emperor, Dà-dì (大帝), is one of the stars of the 'North Pole Asterism', Běi-jí (北極), (see Ho Peng Yoke, p. 67).

96. Huáng-níng (黃寧). This term is mentioned in *Huáng-tíng nèi-jǐng yù-jīng zhù*, chap. 30 (*Dào-zàng*, vol. 131, j. 57, p. 8a), in connection with the precept of abstention from cereals. It is said that as a result of this method one may become immortal and enter into The Yellow Quiescence. The commentary of Liáng-qiū-zǐ says: 黃寧黃庭之道成也"The Yellow Quiescence is the completion of the way of The Yellow Court".

97. To summon forth The Six Dīng, *liù-dīng* (六丁), refers to a set of methods for obtaining the protection of the six goddesses who preside over the six days (out of the cycle of sixty), of which the cyclical designation begins with the character *dīng*. See Schipper I, p. 34-37.

98. *Sān-qīng* (三清). This term usually refers to the supreme trinity of Taoist liturgy, introduced in the fourth century A.D. by the Líng-bǎo tradition and later adopted universally: Yuán-shǐ tiān-zūn (元始天尊), Líng-bǎo dào-jūn (靈寶道君) and Tài-shàng lǎo-jūn (太上老君). The term is also used as here to designate the three supreme celestial regions: Yù-qīng (玉清), Shàng-qīng (上清) and Tài-qīng (太清), corresponding to the three primordial forces, and also to the three sections of the *Dào-zàng*.

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人從氣中來入我口上升還泥丸宮次嚥氣一通良久中元二人從氣中入來我口下徊絳宮中次嚥氣一通良久下元二人從氣中來入我口下徊入下丹田中存天關星令去口七尺星令對口前三一入我三宮中都畢乃精念真一各安所在坐卧思之在心心有所願事事心啓之所求者亦心啓求之存思唯令靜寂靜之寢室晝日亦可存思

立夏存三一南向如初立春精思

立秋存三一西向如立夏精思

7a

7b

立冬存三一北向如立秋精思

存思三一各安其宮畢乃微祝曰

五方命主神致七星三尊凝化上招紫庭六神徘徊三宮丹城玄通大帝下洞黃寧天真保衛召引六丁神仙同浮乘煙三清四體堅鍊五臟自生

右守三元真一經訣

金闕帝君三元真一經

稽字元陽昌位爲黃庭元王其右有保鎮弼
卿一人是精氣津液之神結煙昇化也入在
丹田宮弼卿諱歸上明字谷下玄此二人共
治丹田下元中並著黃繡羅衣貌如嬰孩始
生之形黃庭元王左手把太白星右手執玉
晨金真經弼卿執太上素靈經九庭生景符
坐俱外向或相向也內以鎮守四肢津血腸
胃膀胱之府外以消災散禍辟却萬邪三魂
七魄一日三來朝受事於元王矣
守一之法至立春之日夜半之時正坐東向

6a

6b

吹氣九過嚥液三十五過畢乃存北斗七星
冉冉來下在我頭上却向天以杓柄正向前
指東也存陰精真人二星親薄頭頂上陽明
玄冥二星却在上也陽明陰精二星在星後
面玄冥真人二星在前面於是髣髴存念位
定又思三一之尊君忽乃變生共出在斗魁
之中須臾三卿君復生如三尊須臾見六人
俱登玄冥剛行東去達天關而止俱向我口
又存見上元手扶上卿中元手扶中卿下元
手扶下卿也我乃咽氣一通良久止上元二

水貌如嬰兒始生之形天帝君執上清神虎符帝卿執大洞真經坐俱外向或相向也內以鎮守泥丸面目口舌齒兩耳鼻髮之境外以威震六天萬鬼山惡之魔也三魂五日一來朝而受事焉

心為中丹田號為絳宮鎮心中中央正四方方面各一寸朱煙絳天外映照三萬里變化恍惚在意存之中元真人居其中諱神運珠字子南丹位為絳宮丹皇君其右有輔皇卿一人是四藏之精神結化也入絳宮為輔卿

5a

5b

諱光堅字四靈此二人共治絳宮中垂著朱錦衣貌如嬰孩始生之形丹皇君左手把焚惑星右手執太保經輔卿君執大有妙經八景坐俱外向或相向也內以鎮守筋骨五藏血肉之境外以震消萬邪之不祥養光安神長生久視飛仙太霄三魂七魄三日一來朝而受事焉

臍下三寸號命門丹田宮下元嬰兒居其中四方各一寸白氣衝天外映照七萬里變化大小飛形恍惚在意存之下元嬰兒諱始明

初有其志後必變敗由用志不一邪氣來入故也守一之戒戒於不專專復不久久不能精則三一去矣身爲空宅無主其禍安久哉氣結爲精精感爲神神化爲嬰兒嬰兒上爲真人真人升爲赤子此真一也天有三玄謂日月星也亦有三精是用長生人有三寶三丹田也亦爲三真是用永存靈寶經曰天精地真三寶常存此之謂也兩眉間上丹田也心絳宮中丹田也臍下三寸下丹田也合三丹田也赤子居上丹田宮真人居中丹田宮

4a

4b

嬰兒居下丹田宮兩眉間上却入一寸爲明堂却入二寸爲洞房却入三寸爲丹田泥丸宮却入者却就項後之背向也丹田泥丸宮正四方面各一寸紫氣衝天外映九萬里覆北斗七星魁爲蓋以杓柄前指外向也變化大小飛形恍惚在意存之上元赤子居中在斗蓋之下赤子諱玄凝天字三元先位爲泥丸天帝君其右有帝卿一人相對是齒舌臍之精神升化而生也諱肇勒精字仲玄生上人爲帝卿君此二人共治泥丸中並著赤繡

以出真帝正道玄真以生大神三元解變則一之所生故衆真歸一而玄功成焉此正道之祖元氣之根始也

夫三一之法觀道備於三元總括靈篇握寶神經第一之訣大洞真經第二之訣大有妙經第三之訣太上素靈是故上一帝君寶大洞真經中一丹皇寶大有妙經下一元王寶太上素靈此之三文真道之至精三一之極章並上清之禁訣也妙哉無名其道不遠守一所生三一見矣子既見一可求此經亦當

3a

3b

祕授守三一法皇天上清金闕帝君真書之

首篇衆真之妙訣子能守一一亦守子子能見一一亦見子子身追退千端萬事常當念一飲食念一喜樂念一哀感念一疾病念一危難念一履水火念一乘車馬念一有急念一人之念一舉止屬目念亦多矣思念專矣惠人有志不固固不能久知一名字而不能守守不能堅志多有許心不能恒守故三一去則正氣離夫失正氣者故氣邪氣邪則死日近也俗人學道多尋浮華不信眞一爲貴

紫戶玄精之室身中三一尊君常栖息處所也兼行之者見一神益速也洞房真人須守一爲根本守一真人須洞房爲華蓋故三一相須洞房相待雖其居不同而致道用齋相須若但各得一道注心堅固者可入太清而已但爲太清仙王耳不得游行太微浮登上清上一真帝之極也中一真皇之至也下一真王之妙也天皇得極故上成皇極地皇得至故上成正一人皇得妙故上成衆妙之君三皇體真以守一故一無藏形其真極也三

2a

2b

一俱明得一而生是故三皇世人學之者皆貴守真一守真一心樸神混專玄感所以百念不生精意不散但三月內視注心一神神光化生身外與之而游是注念不散專氣致和由樸之至也得之速也自樸散以來真離之後華僞漸起競心亂生故一不卒見神不即應非不欲住存之者不專思之者不審故起積年之功始有髣髴也若能心齋遠世專心無營亦必三月之感與一俱面也三元者九天之玉真太上之正道也故正一大道

金闕帝君三元真一經

消子授東海青童君

真人所以貴一爲真者上一爲一身之天帝中一爲絳宮之丹皇下一爲黃庭之元王並監統身中二十四氣以應太微二十四真夫氣者結虛煙而成神也三元君各有千乘萬騎雲車羽蓋常以內入紫宮以登上清列錄元圖位爲真人飛行九霄若能守之彌固則三一可見三一可見則千乘萬騎至矣羽蓋可御雲車可乘白日昇天上造太微太微中

1a

1b

有二十四氣混黃雜聚將結炁而變化有時忽爾而分流也氣中有二十四真人皆三一帝皇之炁所以致分道變化矣既能守身中三一則上太微中三一帝皇之君而降見於外與子言矣

身中復有二十四真人亦身中精光英氣所分化而造也若雲車來迎以登太微太微二十四真人俱與身中神明合宴於混黃之中共景分升俱齊內外之德也皆出入上清寢止太微又當兼行洞房洞房之中自有黃闕